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Kashlev Outlines Progress at Vienna Talks

LD1907175388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] The documents of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee Conference have aroused increased interest in Vienna, where a meeting of representatives of CSCE signatory states is continuing its work. Here is what Ambassador Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna meeting, told our correspondent about this:

[Begin Kashlev recording] It was noted in Warsaw that the work is nearing completion, that there is a chance to conclude the Vienna meeting with balanced, important results and to complete the preparation of a mandate for negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. That is a highly correct assessment. It was received here very seriously.

We are, indeed, having very hot days now at the Vienna meeting, because the meeting has entered the final outcome stage, as they put it here. Both we and the Western countries have proposals and corrections to the text of the final draft submitted by the neutral and nonaligned countries. (?There are not many) although some of them are of principal importance, and if we make every effort, it would be possible to find solutions to these questions within a few weeks.

The problem consists in whether we will manage to do it by the end of July, as planned, or if the Vienna meeting may have to be extended for a limited period in September. At least at the moment, the majority of the delegations are in favor of working at maximum capacity and efficiently in order to resolve, or presolve if I may put it so, all these questions now, then get together for a short time in the second half of September to finalize the documents for final acceptance. Then, in the fall, let's say, a (?high- profile) meeting with the participation of the foreign ministers of 35 countries would be held.

There is also some progress at the negotiations between the 23 countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO where the mandate is being prepared. Over the past few weeks, we have completed agreements on the organizational conditions and procedure for these negotiations. It is a fairly substantial document, consisting of 5 pages, in which all organizational conditions are envisioned, that is, on what basis the negotiations are going to work—on the basis of the principles of equality and consensus. That is, it includes many of the things that have already become established in the pan-European process, and now they are going to be introduced also as the basis of these new negotiations on conventional weapons.

So, in both instances, there is progress. But we have to exert ourselves in order to find solutions to the remaining questions. For us the main substance of these issues, our objective, remains unaltered: to conclude the Vienna meeting this year with (?initialled) substantial results and to begin this year negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe, to begin the second stage of the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe. Thus, a very extensive, full, and interesting agenda for Europe lies ahead of us. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Official on Vienna CSCE Meeting

LD1907160488 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—"Foreign ministers of France and the FRG expressed the opinion at the third meeting in Vienna of the participating countries in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe that the meeting should be concluded by the end of July. This viewpoint is quite justifiable," said chief of the Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Yuriy Deryabin. He said that if the meeting lasts into the autumn this can lead not only to the slackening of the pace of achieving arrangements, but the very chance of concluding the meeting within a reasonable period of time, in any case this year, can slip.

"The main thing, certainly, is not the schedule for the conclusion of the meeting, but the results acceptable for all, weighty and balanced results that would impart new quality to the Helsinki process in all directions," the Soviet expert said in an interview to TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov. "But the time factor is also of considerable importance, as the possibility of the opening as early as this year of the talks on the reduction of conventional forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals directly depends on an early conclusion of the Vienna forum," the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

It would seem a mutual understanding has long been achieved that dual-capable weapon systems which now make up to 60-70 per cent of conventional armaments should not be outside future talks. In order to take into consideration the West's concern with regard to the so-called "third zero", that is tactical nuclear weapon systems, it was suggested that only means of delivery of dual-capable weapons be discussed at those talks, while nuclear components become the subject of separate talks. But the latest proposals of NATO countries actually put off the solution of this cardinal problem so that it should be discussed at later talks.

"A European meeting which Mikhail Gorbachev proposed during his visit to Poland is called upon to discuss the cardinal question, the ensurance of a transition from words to actions in the area of conventional arms reductions," Yuriy Deryabin went on to say. And this cannot be viewed as an attempt to replace the future talks in Vienna on problems of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe, though such opinions are expressed by definite circles in the West. By the way, this time, too, there are no attempts to keep the United States and Canada apart from European affairs, to isolate Western Europe from its transoceanic allies, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Karpov on Dismantling of Krasnoyarsk Radar
LD1907130788 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Claims have been made in Washington that the Soviet Union is violating the ABM Treaty by building a radar station outside Krasnoyarsk, but the radar is meant for tracking space objects and can by no means be seen as connnected with the ABM Treaty in any way, a senior Soviet official said today.

Viktor Karpov, chief of the Foreign Ministry's Arms Control and Disarmament Directorate, added that the Soviet side has repeated these explanations about the facility many times.

Moreover, the Soviet Union, "demonstrating good will and concern in connection with such charges, discontinued all work on the Krasnoyarsk radar way back last October and that moratorium is still in effect", he said.

The USSR, he declared, is for strict and unfailing adherence to the ABM Treaty as being essential to 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms.

At the talks in Geneva, according to him, the Soviet delegation is actively discussing the possibility of signing a relevant agreement which would reiterate the commitment by both sides to observe the ABM Treaty for at least another nine to ten years.

"In this framework we are prepared also for a radical solution to the Krasnoyarsk radar issue raised by the Americans.

"If an understanding to abide by the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, is reached, the Soviet Union will be ready to dismantle the Krasnoyarsk radar in a verifiable way that would leave no doubts on the part of the United States," Karpov said.

Missile Inspectors' Trip to UK Reviewed
LD1907223888 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] [Announcer] Soviet experts have arrived in Britain to inspect American cruise missile facilities under the provisions of the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty. Nikolay Gorshkov has the details:

[Gorshkov] Would you expect an (?Aeroflot) Ilyushin jet to land at Greenham Common missile base? Well, today it happened. The 20-member Soviet team comprising inspectors and the air crew have begun their tour of duty with the Greenham Common Air Base, which earlier was opened up for a group of Soviet journalists. As you will remember, Greenham Common was the first American base in Europe to receive cruise missiles, on 14 November 1983.

[Announcer] No. Soviet teams have already visited missile sites in the United States and West Germany. But under the terms of the INF Treaty, each side has the right to choose its own sequence of inspections. And it is only required to give 16 hours notice of an inspection. So in this particular case the British Ministry of Defense was informed of Soviet intentions only late on Monday.

[Announcer] And what's the point of such mysteries?

[Gorshkov] To exclude any possibility of cheating on either side. The current inspections are part of a 60-day period of so-called base-line inspections, aimed at determining the accuracy of the data exchanged by the two sides. The 60-day period began on 3d July, and while the Soviet side [word indistinct] 30 bases in the United States and Western Europe, the American experts may visit 133 Soviet sites. As for base-line inspections, each side can make random unannounced visits during the following 3 years to check the destruction of missiles as required by the INF Treaty. And after that each side will be allowed further inspections for 10 years. Thus far no violations have been discovered, and the base-line inspections are about 25 percent complete.

[Announcer] The memorandum of understanding signed by Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev as an attachment to the INF Treaty listed 101 Tomahawk cruise missiles at Greenham Common and 18 at Molesworth. According to the British Defense Ministry, of the 101 missiles at Greenham Common, 96 are operational and 5 are what the ministry calls spares. It said the Soviet inspectors would additionally be able to see the five training launches and four training missile (?cannisters) kept at Greenham Common. They may enter any building they think is capable of housing missiles or their launch missiles, and they will be allowed to place security men at all entry and exit roads to ensure no missiles are surreptitiously moved out.

[Announcer] Nikolay, you've been at a Soviet SS-20 missile base and reported on preparations to accomodate American inspectors there. But do you have any idea of what the accommodation of the Soviet inspectors at Greenham Common could be like?

[Gorshkov] The Soviet team will be accomodate in three rooms of a new school building and will eat whatever is on the menu of the day at American airmen's canteen. The Soviet inspectors will be allowed to stay in Britain for up to 4 and ½ days, and will be subject to immigration and customs procedures. All their equipment will be checked by American officials. Meanwhile, the Soviet team leader Vyacheslav Lebedev said upon arriving at Greenham Common that the INF Treaty marks the beginning of an unprecedented stage in the history of mankind. Its implementation paves the way for a denuclearized world and makes our lives safer and happier. We highly appreciate the contribution on the part of Great Britain and other European nations, the Soviet expert said, in making this step possible.

Gorbachev's Visit to Poland, Pact Talks Viewed

PM1907104588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "In the Interests of Europe and the Whole World. Socialist Countries' New Initiatives"]

[Text] Two major events of the past week were at the center of universal attention among the world public: the official friendly visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Poland and the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference in the Polish capital.

The peoples of the planet once again were witnesses to the fact that concern for peace and for a nuclear-free and nonviolent future for mankind were and still are the main priority in socialist countries' foreign policy.

The Soviet Union and people's Poland are linked by long-standing profound fraternal relations. The current visit opened a new bright page in the chronicle of our friendship. Both countries' publics have rightfully described it as the most important event in the history of Soviet-Polish ties. Mutual affection, genuine interest, benevolence, and the desire to be closer to one another accompanied the talks and conversations between the leaders of the USSR and Poland and the mass general contacts between the Soviet guest and the fraternal country's working people.

The significance of the visit went far beyond the framework of bilateral relations. It took place at a special period when the community's fraternal countries are resolving fundamentally new tasks for the comprehensive deepening of international socialist division of labor. Socialism is at a crucial stage. It will have to fully uncover and develop its creative potential and its innate humanism.

From the rostrum of the Polish Sejm the Soviet leader expounded our country's proposals for strengthening peace and cooperation and establishing an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust in Europe. The mass media, politicians and public figures, and representatives of various strata of the population are vigorously discussing the initiatives for the creation of a European center to reduce military danger, a three-phase reduction of NATO and Warsaw Pact troops and arms, the holding of an all-European "Reykjavik"—a meeting between the leaders of all European countries on the question of conventional arms reductions—and the concept of building an "all-European home" and others.

The latest Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference examined fundamental questions relating to the modern world and of the consolidation of security and trust in Europe. While discussing problems of European and world politics, the Political Consultative Committee conference once again demonstrated the socialist countries' readiness to continue their peace-loving constructive line in international affairs. The fraternal socialist countries are open to cooperation and are ready to look at the current situation in Europe and on the planet without bias and seek mutually acceptable solutions together with Western partners.

The current international situation is characterized by definite favorable trends. One can note a slackening in confrontation, an increase in East-West contacts, and the creation of more favorable preconditions for curbing the arms race, reducing military expenditure, and settling regional conflicts. However, the Warsaw Political Consultative Committee pointed out that the situation in the world remains complex and contradictory. There has still been no radical breakthrough and change for the better. The danger of the destruction of human civilization and of life itself has not been eliminated.

Analyzing the situation in Europe and the world and the vitally important problems of the day—the prevention of war, the cessation of the arms race, and a resolute shift toward disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament—the Political Consultative Committee conference singled out priority tasks in this sphere. They comprise the conclusion of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in USSR and U.S strategic offensive arms, a complete and universal ban on nuclear weapons tests, the conclusion of a convention on the complete banning of chemical weapons and the destruction of stocks of such weapons, and the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe with a corresponding reduction in military expenditure.

The conference adopted an important document—the Warsaw Pact Statement on Talks to Reduce Armed Forces and Conventional Arms in Europe. This points out that the interests of European and universal security insistently necessitate the move toward a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. Talks on this issue must be initiated without delay, this year.

As is well known, the program for reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe was put forward and supplemented at the Political Consultative Committee conferences in Budapest (1986) and Berlin (1987). At the current meeting in Warsaw its participants submitted a series of new fundamental questions. They believe that the attainment of approximately equal (balanced) collective levels in terms of the numerical strength of armed forces and the number of conventional arms for the two military-political alliances' member-states must be the final goal at the first phase of talks. The balanced levels would be lower than each side's present levels. This would create a foundation for ensuring that each side reduced its armed forces at the second phase by 25 percent (approximately 500,000 men) along with their standard-issue arms. Further reductions in armed forces

and conventional arms would be carried out at the third phase and a strictly defensive character would be imparted to both sides' armed forces.

The statement points out that measures to reduce and eliminate the danger of a sudden offensive would be an inalienable part of the process of reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. The Political Consultative Committee conference proposed a mutual exchange of the relevant initial data necessary for holding talks with a view to determining the correlation of forces and detecting the imbalances and asymmetries in the sphere of armed forces and conventional arms. Great importance is attached to the creation of an effective system for monitoring fulfillment of the accords secured at the talks. The fraternal countries believe that substantial reductions in and then the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons would be an important step leading to a reduction in the military danger and the creation of a more stable situation in Europe.

The interests of all mankind and of mankind's forward development raise exceptionally acutely the problem of ecological safety, especially in such a densely populated region as Europe, which is oversaturated with arms and harmful production facilities. That is why a document was adopted in Warsaw on the consequences of the arms race for the environment and on other aspects of ecological safety. It expressed the profound conviction that the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, is one of the most dangerous sources of environmental degradation.

The allied socialist states believe that the way out of the situation which has arisen lies in the elaboration—by joint efforts from the world community—and the consistent implementation of a concept of international ecological safety based on the most extensive open cooperation between all states. A proposal has been put forward to adopt an international legal document which would contain binding principles and norms governing countries' behavior and would determine the basic avenues for cooperation in the ecological sphere. Europe could be an example of such cooperation, in the opinion of the participants.

The work of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation, and the documents that it adopted are yet another important step toward a world free of mass-destruction weapons and violence, a world based on the principles of mutual equal security, democratic society [obshchezhitiye], and equitable broad cooperation. The fraternal socialist countries are prepared for an enterprising foreign policy in the interests of preserving human civilization and for the good of all the peoples.

Ministry Official on Pact Committee Meeting

AU1507172988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jul 88 p 5

[Interview with Lev Mendeleyevich, member of the Collegium and chief of the Evaluation and Planning Administration in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Atanas Atanasov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO Moscow correspondent: "Constructive Actions in the Name of Security"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Atanasov] Every session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee (PCC) has its own "distinguishing features," insofar as it reflects a certain state of the international situation. What, from this viewpoint, are the most important features of the forthcoming session of the PCC in Warsaw?

[Mendeleyevich] The session is being convened at a time of great change in European and world development. Its chief distinguishing feature stems from the new political thinking proclaimed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The first practical results are already apparent: the Washington INF Treaty, the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, and the advance achieved toward reaching settlements in almost all the regional conflicts. There has been some progress over the entire spectrum of disarmament negotiations, especially in the field of a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, while abiding by the ABM Treaty.

One could also point out other features that serve as evidence of the movement toward a more secure world, which can only be characterized as a material expression of what we call new political thinking. As an end result, the risk of armed conflict has been reduced to a certain extent.

Nonetheless, these positive features are only a beginning. Accordingly, there is no reason to fall into a state of euphoria and think that everything has been achieved. This is only the beginning of a complex, difficult struggle with the opponents of the new political thinking.

[Atanasov] In the period since the last PCC meeting, we have witnessed such important events as the Soviet-American summit in Moscow, which culminated in the INF Treaty coming into force. To what extent do these and other similar events affect the work of the PCC?

[Mendeleyevich] Undoubtedly, the process of improving relations between the USSR and the United States is also having quite an effect upon the common policy of the Warsaw Pact states. Under these conditions, the collective forum of the allied states acquires particular importance. It may be expected that the development of Soviet-American relations and of East-West relations in general will not only win approval and support at the Warsaw meeting, but will also promote a transition to a higher state of activity in the PCC; evidently, new

assessments will be made, and new approaches defined toward constructive actions in world affairs for the further consolidation of the forces of peace.

[Atanasov] How do you view the Warsaw Pact's role in light of the new political thinking?

[Mendeleyevich] The Warsaw Pact is called upon to strengthen and confirm peace in Europe but, at the same time, to ensure the defense capability and security of the participating countries. However, in the context of the new political thinking, the role of the Warsaw Pact is growing as a mechanism for comparing at a high level views and assessments on the most important problems of European and world developments, as a tool for agreeing our countries' approaches and positions on global international issues, and as a generator of new political ideas for eliminating the threat of a new war and creating a system of universal security.

[Atanasov] In international vocabulary, the term "transition from confrontation to mutual understanding and cooperation" is increasingly becoming established. How would you characterize the essence of this expression?

[Mendeleyevich] I would say that we are witnessing a gradual move from a balance of forces to a balance of interests in international relations. However, in order to establish a true balance of interests, upon which two countries (or a group of countries) might base their policies, mutual respect for one another's interests is necessary. Let us take economic relations, for example. Our countries are interested in developing these relations with the Western states, but the latter are ignoring this and artificially holding up the development of relations. Of course, it is impossible to automatically move at one stroke from a balance of forces to a balance of interests; however, such a tendency is emerging not only in the military and political fields, but also in the economic, humanitarian, and ecological ones.

At the end of the interview, L. Mendeleyevich characterized Bulgaria as "a reliable and loyal ally" and noted its "consistent and constructive foreign policy—a policy of understanding, good-neighborliness, and cooperation." "Sofia," he stressed, "is associated with substantial foreign policy initiatives, such as the one for creating nuclear- and chemical-weapons-free zones in the Balkans."

Volkogonov Cites Changes in Pact Policies

AU1907164188 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 15 Jul 88 p 6

[Interview with Professor Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov, doctor of philosophical sciences and director of the Institute of Military History under the USSR Ministry of Defense, by unidentified person in Moscow, "specially for OTECHESTVEN FRONT": "Faith in the Final Victory and in Truth"—date not given]

[Text] [Question] Recently the 33d anniversary of the creation of the Warsaw Pact was celebrated. Over this period our alliance has achieved considerable results in strengthening peace and security. What past achievements, in your view, may we take pride in, and what tasks face us in the future?

[Volkogonov] The chief result from the existence of the Warsaw Pact, which came into being as a response to the military-political union of the aggressive forces of imperialism, is that during the whole of this period we were able to preserve peace. We succeeded in creating a sure guarantee for peace not only in Europe, but also beyond its borders. The important role of the Warsaw Pact now and in the future lies in consolidating the international ties between the fraternal countries and in strengthening the social, economic, and intellectual relations between them. I consider that these are the fields and parameters within which we should assess the results that have been achieved during the period that the Warsaw Pact has been in existence.

[Question] In our times the nature of the relations between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO countries and between the USSR and the United States is changing quickly. There have been real achievements in the disarmament field as a result of the Soviet proposals. In this connection, are their any changes in the main elements of the defensive policy and doctrine of the Warsaw Pact?

[Volkogonov] The main element in the doctrine that was agreed on and adopted by all the socialist countries in Berlin lies primarily in that the existence of the armed forces is explained solely by the tasks subordinate to the prevention of war. If we look back in history, we will see that at all times armies have served only as an instrument of war. For the first time in the existence of human civilization, the army has taken on the function of preventing war.

The second element in the doctrine is that we still cannot disregard such realities as the immense military capacities, plans, and provocations directed against us. This is why, until substantial disarmament is achieved, we must maintain the armed forces at the necessary level, that is, they must be ready to stop any acts of aggression. I would stress, however, that, in the spirit of the new political thinking, the future holds out the promise of a gradual, equal reduction in nuclear weapons by stages, until they are completely eliminated. I would put it even more concisely: There now exists a military mechanism for blocking the causes for a war breaking out, but it is necessary to create a political mechanism also. For the moment, whether we like it or not, a military mechanism exists for restraining the other side, but it is our task to replace this by a political mechanism and, on this basis, to achieve the complete elimination of the possibility of nuclear war by the beginning of the next century.

[Question] The appeal of the Budapest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact Countries for cutting the conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe acquired great importance in East-West relations, especially following the signing of

the INF Treaty. At their Sofia meeting in March this year the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries proposed to the NATO countries exchanging information on the structure, might, and territorial locations of all armed forces and conventional weapons (from the Atlantic to the Urals). Do you think that, following the Budapest appeal and the Sofia announcement, East-West relations have shifted from a position of stalemate?

[Volkogonov] The Soviet Union has on several occasions proposed going much further than our Western partners are prepared to go. All the Warsaw Pact proposals remain in force. I would not say that this is giving rise to any enthusiasm within NATO. Despite certain juggling with words, promises, and assurances, they are not for the time being very ready to join in the East's proposals. However, I consider that this is an issue of the times. Sooner or later, the people in the West will be forced to agree with these proposals, which are shared by the supporters of disarmament and by public opinion.

[Question] At the Sofia conference the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states proposed a convention on banning all forms of chemical weapons. What are the main obstacles on this path?

[Volkogonov] The point is that the question of a ban on all forms of chemical arms was also posed earlier, so it is not new. In Sofia it was formulated once again in a concrete form. For a number of years already the socialist countries have been proposing at high-level forums that a suitable agreement should be concluded on destroying all forms of chemical weapons. The principal obstacle to this has been NATO. The giant concerns that produce chemical weapons obtain hundreds of millions of dollars of profit therefrom. I consider that here again we come up against the fact that not only a political barricade, a barricade of distrust and prejudice, stands in the road to disarmament, but also powerful economic and financial forces that are not interested now in cutting the production of chemical weapons. However, I stress that the future is on the side of our proposals, and we are convinced that sooner or later we will be able to move away from the stalemate on these issues as well.

[Question] How is the restructuring in the Soviet Armed Forces revealing itself?

[Volkogonov] I would point out many new features connected with the restructuring in the Soviet Armed Forces. More specifically, it shows itself in an increase in the role of the social organizations—the party and the Komsomol, and a rise in the social activity of the servicemen. Now much more attention is being given to the social and intellectual sphere, and a process of democratization is being implemented. For example, in the units officers cannot be promoted nor awarded without the party organization giving its opinion.

[Question] How are the problems of international brotherhood being resolved in the Soviet Armed Forces under the conditions of restructuring?

[Volkogonov] We have always paid great attention to international education, the more so because the recent events in Kazakhstan and Nagorno-Karabakh have shown that international education has not everywhere been set at the required high level. The manifestations of acute contradictions are evidence that many elements in international education have been dealt with in a formal manner.

Now our party is taking many vigorous measures to really improve international education, and not only in the armed forces.

[Question] What new features will be introduced, and what existing elements will be reviewed or discarded in the new many-volume "History of the Great Patriotic War?

[Volkogonov] The history stays the same in the sense that the Great Patriotic War began on 22 June 1941 and ended on 9 May 1945. What new things can there be?

Previously we did not state everything, we did not reveal all the facts from the past. On occasion we resorted to passing things over in silence, and did not talk about the reasons for certain failures. How can we explain, for example, why the fascist hordes reached the walls of Moscow in such a short time? It is clear that great mistakes were made, and an unfavorable situation created as a result of an incorrect assessment of the political situation.

The 10-volume edition of the "History of the Great Fatherland War of the Soviet People" will make a deeper study of the entire war period. The main hero of the 10-volume work will be the people. We want to display as many outstanding sons of the fatherland as possible. History cannot be presented as a deserted street at midnight, yet in our country it has often looked exactly like an empty midnight street.

[Volkogonov] I think that history is not a simple concept pertaining to the change of times and epochs, but an infinitely long gallery of portraits depicting people who have crossed our planet in their lives. Naturally, each of them has his own place in the history book but, in addition to this, each of them has played a social role as well. This is why our institute's collective has assumed the task of saying more about people, so that history may not come out of our hands as an anonymous and impersonal account of the past.

Along with this, we would like to show that World War II had two sides. In the past we often spoke about ourselves, but we forgot about the enemy. This enemy was powerful. There is even more: This was a coalition war. We should tell more about our allies, we should

point out that the role of our allies was considerable, despite the fact that the decisive contribution to the victory over fascism was made by the Soviet people. However, the peoples of the antifascist coalition deserve to be mentioned more in detail.

[Question] Following the publication of your preface to your book "Triumph and Tragedy" (a political portrait of Stalin) published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, you received numerous letters. This happened several months ago. Has your approach to Stalin's personality changed under the influence of the letters you read?

[Volkogonov] I received thousands of letters. I am just unable to read them all. I have only managed to read half of them, despite the fact that I am reading them every night. Yet, the mail continues to arrive. In my book I will try to use some of the more interesting ideas and thoughts expressed by the people who wrote these letters to me. Along with the fact that the majority of them support the concept explained in my preface, I think that following its publication in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (in December 1987), an evolution of our views on Stalin has taken place in the minds of our readers and even in my own mind. As a matter of fact, the flow of information on this period in our country and on its interpretation is proceeding along ascending lines.

As for the preface I published, I must say that today I would write some things in a different manner, anyway I would change two or three paragraphs. This is so, because the more thoroughly you begin analyzing a certain problem, the more precisely you can evaluate it.

I would like to say one thing: Even if the most gifted author were to write a book about Stalin, I think that under no circumstances would the reaction to his book be unanimous. The readers would never evaluate such a book for its literary qualities in the first place. People's attitudes to Stalin differ. Yes, there are some people whom we conventionally call "Stalinists." They still consider him a great man, a man who does not deserve to be so severely criticized. There are people, on the other hand, who not only refuse to accept Stalin, but totally reject him and all socialist values together with him, because they identify them with Stalin.

We should answer the question, why in this particular case Stalin is the focus of attention? This is, because people today are primarily concerned with discussing the methods, forms, and paths of socialist construction. I think that the interest in Stalin will not subside soon, but it will diminish when all pages of the past which were inaccessible until recently area revealed. Along with the developing democratization of society and with the expansion of glasnost, the attitude toward Stalin will become less disparate and calmer. However, this requires time. Time is the best biographer, as a matter of fact.

[Question] Can you describe the specific, international significance of the new views and approaches to the history of the USSR and to military-historical science, in particular?

[Volkogonov] I would point out, above all, the methodological and ideological significance of these approaches.

The ideological significance, this is the requirement to educate Soviet people in a spirit of profound respect for truth and fairness, and to inspire them with a sense of historical honesty, with a confidence that truth will always be victorious in the long run.

The methodological significance is connected with the people's increasing conviction that truth can be reached only through democratization, justice, and humanitarianism, through the intellectual values of socialism.

Nuclear Power Plans Reaffirmed at CEMA Session

LD1607015688 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—The 44th meeting of the CMEA session reaffirmed the intention of the socialist countries to accelerate the development of nuclear energy. As the TASS correspondent was told in the CMEA Secretariat, nuclear power plants (NPP) will account for one-third of all the power generating capacities to be created in the CMEA member countries before the year 1990, and for two-thirds in the subsequent decade.

Still, however, the countries of the socialist community will enter the new millennium with mostly thermal power generating capacities to which preference was given in recent years. At present nuclear power plants account for only 13 per cent of the overall electric power being generated, which is less than in the developed capitalist nations. NPP developers pay principal attention to enhancing the economic effectiveness of the plants and their safety.

Construction of the new thermal power stations is being gradually curtailed but a significant part of the material and financial means will go to modernising the old ones. The once dominant concept that, following 40 years of operation, the thermal power stations ought to be dismantled, has been revised. The latest calculations indicate that their modernisation with account for the latest scientific and technological achievements yields a high economic effect. Difficult problems of cleaning the smoke exhausts will have to be solved.

More sharply than ever before, the latest meeting of the CMEA session raised the question of utilising literally all resources for the development of the national power systems of the CMEA countries. This is especially true

with respect to utilising renewable sources of energy. These will give rise to a new trend in energetics. The declared objective is this: in addition to the traditional construction of major hydro-electric power stations, to create a network of lesser stations on small rivers. Specialists believe that these will ensure the cheapest power. It will also be necessary to develop, to ensure the uniformity and to organise the manufacture of many thousands of units and systems of automation means for the smaller hydro-electric power stations.

By the year 2000 the consumption of electric power in the CMEA countries will be up 60 per cent. The programs afoot provide for a 70-per cent increase in the installed capacity of electric power stations.

Gerasimov Holds News Conference 19 Jul

'Satisfaction' Over Iranian Decision

LD1907133088 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—"The Soviet Union has met with profound satisfaction the decision of Iran to officially recognize Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council on the Iranian-Iraqi conflict", says a statement of a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman read out at a briefing today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The statement said that the USSR had consistently come out from the very beginning for transferring the Iranian-Iraqi conflict as soon as possible to the course of peaceful political negotiations for the purpose of its just and comprehensive settlement on the basis of Resolution 598.

"We have raised all those questions time and again at talks with Iranian representatives on various levels, have repeatedly spoken out in favour of the recognition by Iran of Resolution 598", the statement pointed out. "It is gratifying that Iran has taken this major step paving the way to its putting into practice. Now that Iran, following Iraq, has recognized Resolution 598, there exist all the opportunities for ceasefire by both warring parties, for the termination of the war that has been going on for almost eight years".

According to the statement of the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman, a political settlement of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict would become, following the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, a new major step on the way of the settlement of regional conflicts.

Comments on Afghan 'Rebel' Attacks

LD1907135388 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—The armed opposition in Afghanistan more and more often resorts to acts of terror, rocketing towns and villages, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said at a briefing here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said that the rebels had again rocketed Kabul this morning, firing 11 rockets.

Nine people died and 14 others were injured in the attack.

The spokesman drew reporters' attention to incessant violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan.

Rebel detachments and arms caravans continue to infiltrate Afghanistan from Pakistan, reaching areas deep in Afghan territory.

According to information obtained, Pakistan paid four million afghanis to heads of a number of armed groups in Nangarhar Province.

In this way, Gerasimov said, the Pakistani side "not only assists the rebels in delivering arms to Afghan territory but also encourages the extremists to new acts of terror".

The Foreign Ministry spokesman announced that former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, parliamentary deputy from the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, is expected to visit the Soviet Union on July 20-25 at the invitation of the parliamentary group of the USSR.

"The Soviet Union considers this visit as a step toward extended Soviet-Japanese political dialogue and parliamentary contacts between the two countries, and toward development of relations with the Liberal Democratic Party," Gerasimov said.

Further on Pakistan 'Violations'

LD1907175788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Summary] In Moscow today Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov gave a briefing on foreign policy. On Iran's acceptance of UN Resolution 598, he said there was now every possibility of ending the war. Gerasimov then read out a statement on the situation in Afghanistan. He said:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] The armed opposition is resorting more and more to terrorist acts, to shelling Afghan towns and villages. From 11 to 13 July, in 3 days, 40 shelling attacks were mounted on various population centers. Yesterday President Najibullah cited this information: In the past 2 months 167 rockets were launched at Kabul, and 67 explosive devices were detonated. As a result 138 persons were killed, and over 170 were wounded.

At 0725 this morning the armed opposition again shelled Kabul; 11 rockets were launched at Kabul from the area of Shakar Darreh, some 20 km from Kabul. As a result of the shelling 9 people were killed, including 1 child and 2 women, and 14 residents were wounded. It should be said that the armed opposition is continuing to spread rumors alleging that these rocket attacks are made by Soviet troops. Of course, these absurd rumors do not need serious refutation.

So-called terror convoys of arms continue to infiltrate from Pakistan deep into Afghan territory. Detachments of rebels are also being infiltrated. Information has been received that Pakistan has paid 4 million afghanis to the leaders of a number of armed groups to cause explosions and mount terrorist acts in Nangarhar Province. Groups of fighters in the subdistrict of Arghanda have been

allocated 50 million afghanis to step up subversion against the government. The infiltration and use of foreign military advisers continues.

The Pakistani side is not only assisting with the delivery of arms, including rockets, to the territory of Afghanistan, and thus directly encouraging the extremists to mount these terrorist acts; it is also training Afghan rebels to use them. The Afghan Foreign Ministry has already sent some 50 notes with precise indications of the place, time, and nature of Pakistan's violations of the Geneva agreements. But, according to official Afghan representatives, the Islamabad regime has so far not shown the slightest initiative for the due implementation of the signed agreements. [end recording]

Averchenko Views Week's International Events

PM1907081388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

["International Review" column by Boris Averchenko: "The World This Week"—boldface as published]

[Text] **According to the calendar, we are now in the second half of this year's summer, which has fluctuated between heat and chill. As always, when enjoying the sight of nature in full flower, with golden grain fields and orchards laden with fruit, people's thoughts turn to the future. They wish to see it calm and secure. And even though the buildup of gray clouds on the international horizon has recently abated and blue patches are appearing increasingly often in the sky, the peoples are as always sensitively attuned to the pulse of political life on the planet, attentively following events in its different parts, which abound with complex and diverse interests. They are becoming increasingly aware that the struggle for a nuclear-free and nonviolent world demands specific actions. There cannot be a moment's pause for breath in this struggle.**

Fraternal Unity [subhead]

The Soviet Union, together with the fraternal countries, is daily stepping up the course aimed at further improving the international atmosphere. The desire for peace, the development of broad cooperation, and the maintenance of normal and civilized relations between peoples and states is organically inherent in the very nature and fundamental interests of socialism.

This noble goal is served by the socialist countries' constantly deepening collaboration. They have a sound tradition of reciprocal visits and businesslike contacts between their leading figures, in the course of which they exchange experiences and discuss questions of the development of diverse ties and key problems of the international situation. Summit-level contacts have entered a new phase in the last few years; they have become more frequent, more specific, and more effective. These meetings are based on a respectful attitude toward and profound interest in each other's affairs, a desire for mutual assistance, and a shared responsibility for the historic fate of socialism. A vivid expression of such genuine comradeship and mutual affection and trust was provided by this week's official friendly visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the Polish People's Republic.

Heroic Warsaw, which was reborn out of the ashes; ancient intellectual Krakow; Poronin and Bialy Dunajec, of which everyone has heard and which offered shelter to V.I. Lenin and his family for 90 days early this century; coastal Szczecin, which has been rejuvenated and is flexing its muscles—the high-ranking Soviet visitor was accorded the most cordial and truly fraternal reception everywhere he traveled. The Polish comrades follow with sympathy and approval the restructuring now under way in our country, which is consonant with the reforms of socialist renewal being implemented in the Polish People's Republic. Displaying profound interest in various aspects of our transformations, they ardently wish the Soviet people success along this revolutionary path.

Relations between our countries are rooted deep in the past. Their history contains complex turnabouts and far from simple conflicts. But its annals contain more wonderful pages of friendship, mutual assistance, and cooperation. The best sons of Russia and Poland waged a joint struggle against tsarism and the exploiting classes. Many thousands of Poles took part in the battles for Soviet power and made their contribution to the victory of Great October which, having liberated the Russian working people, became the prelude to Poland's independence.

The struggle of the Soviet and Polish peoples against Hitler's fascism, a struggle cemented with blood, will never be erased from the generations' memory. The tree of our friendship grew especially deep roots in the postwar years. Soviet and Polish working people have shared joys and sorrows, supporting and helping each other.

In a few days' time—22 Lipiec (July)—People's Poland will celebrate a memorable date in its 1,000-year history: the Day of National Rebirth. During the 44 years of marching along the socialist path, this previously economically backward and ravaged country has been transformed into a developed industrial power, an authoritative scientific and cultural center in Europe. Together with the fraternal socialist countries, it makes a weighty contribution to the cause of establishing lasting peace in the continent.

The restructuring and renewal now under way in the USSR and Poland give a powerful boost to the further expansion of cooperation and offer room to develop economic integration and deepen international division of labor. At the same time, the times and the interests of the fullest possible revelation of socialism's potential demand new forms of cooperation and the creation of fundamentally different conditions for economic ties. More than 200 Soviet and Polish enterprises and organizations are already cooperating directly. There are

over 130 scientific research institutions participating in the implementation of the bilateral Comprehensive Program in Science and Technology Through the Year 2000. But these are just the initial steps. Much joint work still remains to be done in order to accelerate progress along the paths of integration and bring down all the barriers.

"Soviet-Polish cooperation must be the work of millions." This desire, proclaimed 1 year ago in the declaration on questions of collaboration in the sphere of ideology, science, and culture, signed by M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski, is being translated into practical actions. There are hundreds and thousands of new bonds linking party officials, scientists, literary figures, artists, and theater and cinematography workers from both countries. Border trade is developing, and the reciprocal flow of tourists is swelling.

If the nature, scale, and atmosphere of Soviet-Polish ties was to be appraised most succinctly, the Soviet visitor noted, it can be said that today they are more open and keener that ever before in the postwar period.

We profoundly realize, the leader of the Polish People's Republic declared, that the development and prosperity of the Soviet state and its might and position in the world are consonant with Poland's state interests. At the same time, a strong and really socialist Poland is the Soviet Union's irreplaceable friendly neighbor, now and for ever!

In the joint document adopted on the results of the visit, both sides declared their resolve to strengthen the Soviet-Polish alliance and the relations of mutual understanding, sincere friendship, and all-around cooperation.

Our Common European Home [subhead]

An ardent call issued again from the city of peace, Warsaw: To begin, the construction, with joint efforts by states and peoples, of a new all-European home based on mutual trust and free from military confrontations and fear. Equality, good-neighborliness, mutually advantageous trade, and exchange of the achievements of science and culture—these must be its primary characteristics.

The European Continent is relatively small on the global scale. But it has a different magnitude. Europe is a treasure house of unique achievements of human civilization, it has the richest of history, and its 700 million strong population has a certain common fate.

The new political thinking which is asserting itself nowadays indicates that everything valuable created by Europe through the centuries; today's achievements in science, technology, and culture; and the humanitarian and moral potential accumulated in the postwar period in the East and West of the continent alike must be utilized for the benefit of the peoples, in line with their current needs and potential.

Unfortunately, Europe still remains a "powder keg." It is crammed full with weapons, divided between millions-strong groupings of forces equipped with modern tanks, missiles, aircraft, artillery, and other types of arms. How are we to free our common European home of all this? How are we to render it calm and secure?

The Soviet Union, together with the fraternal countries, actively advocates the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe. New proposals on this questions were outlined by M.S. Gorbachev during his visit to Poland. Foreign commentators draw particular attention to the fact that the Soviet leader is offering to the Western partners that the quest for balance through the reduction of military confrontation be taken as the rule not only on a global strategic scale, but also in every specific case. For example, the USSR would be prepared to withdraw comparable aircraft from their forward bases in East Europe provided NATO agrees not to deploy in Italy its 72 F-16 fighter-bombers, which Spain has turned down.

There is a broad response among statesmen and politicians to the proposal to create a European military threat reduction center as a locus of cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact Organization. Such a permanent center could turn into a useful structure enhancing the reliability of peace on the continent.

A process of deeper reductions of troops and armaments in Europe would conform with the vital interests of the peoples. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to speed up agreement on a mandate in Vienna, which would provide a basis for starting talks both on the reduction of conventional troops and armaments and on confidence-building measures on an all-European scale.

What proposals would the Soviet Union like to submit to these talks? Our country is offering to effect the reduction of troops and armaments in three stages. The first stage would involve the identification and elimination of all imbalances and asymmetries between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in terms of both the numerical strength of troops and basic armaments. This approach could be applied to the entire European Continent as a whole and to its individual regions. Later on, at the second stage, NATO and Warsaw Pact troops are to be reduced by 500,000 on each side from the levels which would be established following the elimination of imbalances and asymmetries. The third stage would take reductions further so as to finally render the military formations of both military alliances purely defensive.

Observers note in particular the fact that the Soviet Union is prepared—not just at the third stage but actually from the very start of the implementation of reductions—to agree on priority reductions in tactical nuclear weapons, tactical strike aviation, and tanks.

There is keen discussion in various capitals on the Soviet proposal to hold an all-European "Reykjavik," a meeting of the leaders of all European countries to examine just one single question: How to break out of the existing vicious circle and ensure a transition from words to actions in the sphere of conventional arms reductions. Commenting on this proposal, the mass media point out that the USSR is demonstrating again its principled approach to the solution of international affairs: not confrontation, suspicion, or mutual accusations, but permanent dialogue, openness, honesty, and a persistent quest for a mutually acceptable solution, regardless of what complex problems might be at stake.

The latest conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee, held in Warsaw 15-16 July, was an event of tremendous importance. The allied countries' top leaders collectively examined and analyzed fundamental questions of the contemporary world and discussed the situation in Europe. The Political Consultative Committee conference put forward new constructive ideas and affirmed the fraternal states' resolve to continue to pursue an active foreign policy in the interests of preserving human civilization for the benefit of all peoples.

Dangerous Symptoms [subhead]

Unfortunately, the week that has passed will be remembered not just for good news inspiring hope and optimism. It also supplied quite a few alarming news reports. The world public followed with concern events in Central America, where the United States unleashed a new campaign of threats and crude pressure on the Republic of Nicaragua.

It is well known that this is not the first time that Washington has pushed the counterrevolutionary formations into escalating aggression against the independent Republic. The new contra provocations are now backed by actions by the right-wing opposition inside the country, with the U.S. Embassy as the center of its subversive activity. In order to "ensure the Republic's independence," the Nicaraguan Government decided to expel from Managua the ambassador and seven other U.S. diplomats for interference in the sovereign country's internal affairs. Washington was not slow in taking counteractions, instructing the ambassador and seven other staff members of the Nicaraguan Embassy to leave the United States. Moreover, the U.S. President declared that while he does not intend to break diplomatic relations with Nicaragua yet, this "is always possible."

Indignation continues to boil all over the world in connection with the piratical U.S. actions in the Persian Gulf, where an Iranian passenger aircraft was shot down by missiles from a U.S. cruiser a few days ago. Washington's attempts to justify this gravest of crimes with "the inalienable right of self-defense" are downright ridiculous. Any justification of the reasons "for destroying an unarmed passenger airliner is unacceptable," no matter how the United States might try to justify its actions, the Japanese newspaper MAINICHI DAILY NEWS writes. The White House bears full responsibility for the death of the Iranian civilian aircraft's passengers, the newspaper PEOPLE'S DAILY WORLD points out. "The interests of peace and common sense," it says in an editorial, "demand an end to the present U.S. policy in the Near East. And until such time as Washington changes its course, new tragedies are only a matter of time."

Millions of people on all continents in the world brand the Pentagon's action piratical and lay all responsibility for the policy of international piracy squarely on the U.S. Administration.

It is not hard to realize that conservative politicians backed by the military-industrial complex and the generals of U.S. imperialism are in no hurry to abandon their "divide and rule" principles. This makes it mandatory for peace-loving forces and all people of goodwill to step up their vigilance.

Cuba, SWAPO Officials Cited on Africa Talks

LD1607020788 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 15 TASS—The United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar said he was satisfied with the outcome of the talks in New York between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States on a peace settlement in the south-west of Africa. This was reported here by a spokesman for the secretary general. The secretary general expressed the hope that this first positive step will lead to a solution of the Namibian problem, which is long overdue, and to implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 435, he said.

The talks' principal objective is to find a political peaceful settlement wished by all the participants, Cuban representative Alcibiades Hidalgo, who is a member of the joint Cuban-Angolan delegation, told a press conference here on Thursday. Now the conditions here favour the achievement of a settlement, in particular of the problem of Namibia which is illegally occupied by South Africa.

The Cuban troops entered Angola at the request of the Angolan Government and in accordance with the relevant norms of international law and the U.N. Charter to protect the country against aggression, the Cuban representative said. If the negotiators arrive at a positive solution to the problem of international guarantees of ending the foreign armed intervention against Angola and preventing it in the future, this will eliminate the cause which brought the Cuban troops there, Alcibiades Hidalgo said. Implementation of the U.N. Security Council resolution on Namibia must be part of those guarantees. A solution to the question of the terrorist UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] grouping is also a must. With a long road of

negotiations behind us, we are now on the threshold of achieving a real agreement on the principles of a peaceful settlement in the south-west of Africa.

The agreements achieved in New York on the main principles of a peaceful settlement in the south-west of Africa testify to an evolution of the process of negotiations, Hidipo Hamutenya, SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] secretary on questions of information and propaganda, said here. He said in an interview with Namibia's NAMPA news agency that the approach, elaborated at the quadripartite talks, corresponds to the Angolan-Cuban proposal on decolonising Namibia on the basis of the U.N. Security Council resolution, which is a condition for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola. The Government of South Africa, he said, faces the need to get out of the quagmire of its military, political and diplomatic difficulties in the south-west of Africa.

Hidipo Hamutenya said that until a final agreement on Angola and Namibia is worked out, SWAPO will step up its struggle for the independence of its country.

Sports Official Discusses Olympic Preparations

PM1907162388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jul 88 Second Edition p 8

[Interview with A. Kolesov, deputy chairman of USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, by L. Lebedev under the "1988 Olympics" rubric: "Optimism and Concern"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] There are exactly 2 months left before the Olympic games. No doubt some people will want to say that it is less than 2 months, since the XIV Olympic Games open 17 October. Yes, the ceremonial opening does indeed take place on that day, but the actual medal contest starts on 18 October. But however you count, we are within touching distance of the summer Olympics. There is no need to say that sportsmen are training all out. My conversation with Anatoliy Kolesov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports and meritorious master of sports, who is in charge of Soviet Olympic athletes' preparation for Seoul, therefore began with a question:

Lebedev: What is your present mood?

Kolesov: Optimistic. I am an optimist in general, and particularly so when we are are talking about the Olympics, which is a marvelous festival of sport and youth. But I do admit to also feeling a certain unease....

Lebedev: Traditional precompetition nerves?

Kolesov: Not just that. It has to be said that Seoul is not, after all, the best spot to hold the Olympic games, and this standpoint is shared by many sports figures in various countries.

Lebedev: It is surely too late to raise that question time and again....

Kolesov: Yes, once the city is chosen as the capital for the next games, you have to go there and compete. I have been to Seoul twice and must say that the situation in the city is still unstable, with student demonstrations continuing, although the organizers of the Olympic games and representatives of the authorities do assure people that nothing will hamper the competition during the games. [passage omitted]

Lebedev: The time of departure for the games has no doubt already been fixed?

Kolesov: With absolute precision. The bulk of Soviet sportsmen will fly to Seoul by special flights from Moscow, Khabarovsk, and Vladivostok. Many of our athletes will be undergoing acclimatization in the Far East prior to departure. But the first group—they will be yachtsmen—will be leaving Vladivostok for Seoul aboard the motor vessel "Mikhail Sholokhov" on 1 September. The ship will bring the yachts and other freight belonging to the Olympic athletes to Pusan and then sail around the Korean peninsula to Inchon, where it will moor. It takes just 90 minutes by road to get from there to the Olympic village in Seoul. So the motor vessel will serve during the games as a kind of cultural center, a place for the Soviet Olympic sportsmen and their guests to relax. [passage omitted]

'More Active' Role in UNESCO Urged

PM1607120188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[B. Pavlov article: "More Active Contribution to UNESCO"]

[Text] The Soviet Union's growing contribution to the development of international ties in the humanitarian sphere and topical tasks relating to improving the effectiveness of our participation in this cooperation on a multilateral basis comprised the agenda of the Moscow session of the newly constituted USSR Commission on UNESCO Affairs.

A. Adamishin, chairman of the commission and USSR deputy foreign minister, noted in his speech that just 18 months ago the situation in UNESCO was close to critical. This authoritative UN organization, responsible for questions of education, science, and culture, was becoming an arena for the interminable exchange of mutual recriminations and "slanging matches" between representatives of East and West. Furthermore, as you well know, some states withdrew from UNESCO.

In order to begin to resolutely draw UNESCO out of this crisis we had to overcome many outmoded, stereotyped ways of thinking and the accretions of the previous period. Working from more realistic positions, rather than confrontational, the USSR not only successfully

contributes to enhancing UNESCO's prestige, but also ensures an increasingly close link in the scientific and cultural spheres between international programs and its own, Soviet, creative plans. Some 70 Soviet ministries, departments, and organizations now have direct links with UNESCO programs and are involved in their implementation.

However, as the commission members and representatives of the Soviet public addressing the session noted, we still have a long way to go before we make full use of the world scientific experience that UNESCO has accumulated, which could be applied perfectly well in our own conditions.

United States & Canada

Akhromeyev Interviewed on Visit to U.S.

LD1907224688 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Report on interview with Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, Soviet Armed Forces chief of staff, by Vladimir Zvyagin, Moscow Radio New York correspondent, given "before his departure" from the United States]

[Text] As the Soviet military delegation was going to the United States, it set itself three goals. First, we had to consider and put into action a plan for contacts at the military level between the armed forces of the United States and the Soviet Union for 1988,'89, and'90. We wanted to discuss the possible ways for lowering the likelihood of dangerous military incidents between the armed forces of the two countries and to set up an appropriate mechanism in order to reach the goals. This is not a simple problem; it cannot be solved in one go. For this reason, we felt that during the visit we must at least start solving it.

Our second goal was to get acquainted with the United States Armed Forces because we have an invitation to visit several military installations. And the third goal was to get acquainted with the people of the United States since we had a schedule for a number of meetings with Americans at all levels, with their leaders, scientists, businessmen, and other representatives.

Highlighting the situation in which these meetings were held, Marshal Akhromeyev said: The visit itself became possible because of the work done by Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan in the past 3 years. Their four summit meetings considerably improved Soviet-American relations and created opportunities for contacts between military officials. We had meetings with American generals, officers, NCO's, and privates of the four armed services, ground troops [as heard], the Air Force, the Navy, and the Marines.

We asked dozens of military men what they thought of the fact that a military delegation from the Soviet Union had suddenly appeared in a training center for ground troops, or at an airbase where strategic bombers were deployed, and all answered it was good the leaders of the armed forces had invited us, because relations between the two countries had to be normalized and war must be prevented. One soldier, when asked why in his opinion a Soviet delegation had come to a training center for the Marines, said frankly he didn't know, but it was very good it had come.

Our general impressions of meetings with U.S. servicemen are these: They realize the need for better Soviet-American relations and understand what role these relations play for promoting peace.

Marshal Akhromeyev had also many impressions from meetings with American civilians.

I think, he said, that there has been a change in the thinking of americans, too. Most Americans took a positive view of our visit. We had a meeting in Oklahoma State University with scientists, lecturers, and students. In the city of San Antonio, we met the town hall officials, scholars, and art figures. We also had a meeting with big businessmen who spoke out in favor of better relations. In their majority, the Americans want better relations with the Soviet Union. That's our impression, said Marshal Akhromeyev. Admiral Crowe and I spent dozens of hours of conversations on various issues, noted Marshal Akhromeyev. There was a detailed discussion of military-political issues and problems of concern for the Soviet Union, with the source of this concern being either the United States or NATO in general. We also discussed in great detail the concern of the United States, which believes that the source of this concern are the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Admiral Crowe and I disagreed on many military points, but this is understandable. However, I believe it was very useful that we analyzed all the problems with patience and tolerance and established the sources of each others' anxiety. This is essential for our further talks and for Soviet-American relations in the military area.

In the opinion of Marshal Akhromeyev, military leaders take part in solving military-political problems because the main thing now is to prevent war. It's hard to solve a problem without the military. It's natural, therefore, that they have become more active in the struggle for peace and in taking part in talks on military-political issues. Summing up the results of the visit, Marshal Akhromeyev said the results are mostly positive.

To begin with, we exchanged letters and put into effect a plan for bilateral military contacts over the next 3 years. Under this plan, Soviet and American military leaders will exchange visits, and warships of the two countries will call at each others' ports. There will also be exchanges of sports delegations and of delegations of military historians, military medics, and other contacts. This will help with greater understanding of what is happening in the armed forces of both countries, said Marshal Akhromeyev. We have begun work to prevent dangerous incidents. We decided to set up joint groups to draft the proper agreement. It will be of great help that during our visit we reviewed each others' anxieties connected with political problems and discussed the military doctrines of the USSR and the United States. That's the main thing, I believe, about the results of this visit.

Ovchinnikov Views Shultz Far Eastern Tour

PM1907144988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Viewpoint": "Into a Common Harness"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz has completed his trip around Southeast Asia—the longest trip during his term in office. His route included Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, China, South Korea, and

Japan. Each of these countries has its own problems in relations with Washington. But common themes can also be singled out. These are, first, a political settlement in Cambodia; second, the future of the U.S. bases in the Philippines; and third, trading friction (ASEAN members are dissatisfied that measures aimed at protecting the U.S. market from an influx of Japanese goods are ricocheting throughout the countries of Southeast Asia).

This time discussion of the Cambodian problem is proceeding against a backdrop of reassuring moves toward a political settlement. The decision by Hanoi and Phnom Penh to speed up the Vietnamese volunteers' return home had particularly great repercussions. By the end of the year, 50,000 men—half of the overall total—will have been withdrawn. Under these conditions, all interested parties are faced with the following question: How can guarantees be created to ensure that Pol Pot's supporters—the strongest of the three opposition groupings—do not seize power in Cambodia again following the departure of the Vietnamese?

Sihanouk's unexpected decision to quit the post of head of the antigovernment coalition is seen in many capitals as a tactical maneuver aimed at freeing his hands in order to block Pol Pot's men. People in Hanoi believe that if Sihanouk's resignation means that he has broken with the Pol Pot clique, that is good for the cause of a settlement.

Japanese Foreign Minister Uno displayed most vigor in discussing the topic of Cambodia in Bangkok. He zealously supported the idea that international peacekeeping forces must be sent to the country after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers. Uno stated that Japan is prepared to undertake the financing of these forces and also to assign specialists to a group of observers while elections are held. Tokyo clearly intends to use a political settlement in Cambodia to step up its role in Southeast Asia and participate in the international conference, thus guaranteeing itself advantageous economic positions in the countries of Indochina.

Washington is shutting its eyes to this vigorous activity, for it desperately needs Tokyo's help in another area of U.S. Asian policy: the Philippine area. At the meeting in Bangkok, ASEAN members confirmed their adherence to their concept of transforming Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality and proclaiming it a nuclear-free zone. But this status for the region would prevent use of U.S military bases in the Philippines, the largest bases outside the United States. The talks on their future are already into their 4th month against the backdrop of an unprecedented increase in antinuclear sentiments among the most diverse strata of the Philippine public. Washington has indicated that the Americans would help Manila to wipe out its huge foreign debt and would compel their allies—from Japan in Asia to the FRG in Europe—to fork out on a "mini Marshall plan" for the Philippines totaling $10 billion in return for its consent to extend the agreement on the bases.

Shultz stated that in any case the United States will retain its military presence in the Asia-Pacific region but is prepared to leave the Philippines if it is asked to pay too high a price for the bases.

Something else is also worthy of note: the growing role which Washington is allotting Tokyo in its dealings with Cambodia and the Philippines. This sheds light on the true underlying reason behind the calls for the creation of a "Pacific forum of countries with a market economy." (They were heard again during Shultz's trip, particularly in his speech in Jakarta). "The United States," Indonesia's MERDEKA wrote, "intends to create an alliance in the Asia-Pacific region designed to fulfill military-strategic functions like NATO and also trade and economic functions like the EEC. By uniting U.S. allies from Japan and South Korea to Australia and New Zealand, this alliance would serve the global interests of the industrially developed capitalist powers."

There are indeed grounds for such a conclusion.

Is it not the aim of Shultz's visit to gather existing and potential allies in the region into a common harness?

Envoy Delivers Shultz Message to Shevardnadze

LD1907214688 Moscow TASS in English 2114 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister received Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, who handed over a personal message by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

In the ensuing talk the sides examined several pressing regional problems. Special attention was given to discussing prospects for resolving the Kampuchean question. The Soviet side took note of the information conveyed by the ambassador about the recent trip by the U.S. secretary of state over Asian and Far Eastern countries and confirmed the principled position in favor of a political settlement of the Kampuchean conflict by setting up a mechanism of national reconciliation in Kampuchea and establishing a dialogue between interested parties.

The sides also discussed the Iran-Iraq conflict. In this context the sides noted with satisfaction Iran's statement on its recognition of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council, assessing it as an important move towards settling the conflict.

Ministry, U.S. Senators Hold Economic Talks

LD1807222188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Having completed their familiarization tour of Leningrad, a group of U.S. senators today had talks in Moscow at the USSR Ministry for Foreign Economic

Relations and at the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers. Questions of and prospects for the development of bilateral trade and economic relations were discussed.

Perez de Cuellar Views Talks With Reagan

LD1907095888 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar informed on Monday journalists on the results of his talks in Washington with President Ronald Reagan and other representatives of the U.S. Administration.

During the meeting, he said, issues of mutual interest to the USA and U.N. were discussed. It is obvious that the United State counts on effective participation through the United Nations in tackling a wide range of international issues. The attention of the U.S. Administration was drawn to the crisis financial situation in the U.N. However, no guarantees were given by the United States that it was either preparing to pay its financial contributions in full or that the request for 44 million dollars, endorsed earlier as payment of part of the U.S. contribution in 1987, will be sent to the Congress in the nearest future. Without concealing his disappointment, Perez de Cuellar reminded that the full and timely payment of the set fees is an obligation of each member, which is stipulated by the charter, and that the financial crisis caused largely by the U.S. arrears paralyses the activity of the entire U.N.

The U.N. secretary-general stressed that the financial position of the organisation has entered an extremely unreliable phase. He said that he again asked a group of permanent representatives of the U.N. member states to meet before the end of August to work out immediate and long-term measures. Acting in this way, Perez de Cuellar said, the United Nations hopes that the United States Government will show in the nearest future political will necessary for restoring its position in the U.N. and ensure, as the first step, guarantees that its 1987 financial contribution will be paid in full.

China

USSR, PRC Establish Visa-Free Business Travel

LD1907141488 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Soviet and Chinese nationals will soon begin travelling respectively to the People's Republic of China and the USSR visa-free on business for the first time in the history of relations between their countries, a Soviet Foreign Ministry official announced here today.

Oleg Avramenko, first deputy chief of the ministry's Consular Directorate, said at a briefing that this is provided by a new bilateral agreement on mutual trips by citizens, which goes into force August 14.

He said the simplified entry-exit procedures will help step up economic, scientific and cultural cooperation and contacts betwseen cities, various social organizations and cooperatives and launch joint ventures.

Avramenko said these procedures will continue to be simplified. It is planned, in particular, to extend visa-free travel arrangements to private trips as well.

Adopting documents on legal assistance and on preventing double citizenship and setting up extra consular offices in addition to those in Leningrad and Shanghai is also on the order of the day.

Gromyko, PRC Official Discuss Relations

LD1907205388 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 19 JUl 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Today Andrey Gromyko received Wu Xuqioan [name as received] in the Kremlin. Wu Xuqioan is prominant Chinese revolutionary, a veteran of the Chinese Communist Party, one of outstanding party and public figures of present-day China. He is a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Commission of CPC advisers, director of the Beijing Institute of International Strategic Investigations and board chairman of the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society. He had stayed in the Soviet Union for five years up to the year 1930, studied at the Sun Yat-Sen University and served in the Red Army in Khabarovsk. He held high-ranking posts in the Red Army of China and then worked as a diplomat, including the post of a deputy foreign minister of China. He repeatedly visited the Soviet Union.

Now he heads a delegation which is staying in the USSR at the invitation of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with foreign countries.

At the request of the guest Andrey Gromyko described the state of and prospects for Soviet-Chinese relations, noting that the Soviet people are satisfied with the fact that these relations have been developed. Trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation has been boosted, and contacts in culture, education and sport have expanded. Parliamentary relations and direct contacts between areas, cities, individual enterprises and organizations have been successfully developing.

At the same time he expressed opinion that reserves for cooperation were far from exhausted, confirming that the Soviet side was ready to conduct a fruitful dialogue with China at any level, any time and on any question.

Wu Xuqioan pointed out on his part that the opinion of the Chinese side on a broad range of issues of Chinese-Soviet relations concurs with the Soviet stand. Chinese people point out with great satisfaction, he said, that in the past few years positive changes have been taking place in relations between our countries. Mutual interest of peoples in each other was growing. The Chinese Government seeks to normalize the situation in Soviet-Chinese relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

The sides were unanimous in the opinion that under the present conditions in the world there is no alternative to the policy of disarmament, especially nuclear one.

At the end of the talk Andrey Gromyko pointed out that the Soviet Union would do its utmost, in the future too, to develop further relations between our countries and asked Wu Xuqioan to convey the Chinese people wishes of success in socialist construction, prosperity and peace.

Rogachev Affirms Readiness for Summit With PRC

OW2007041688 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Activists of the Soviet peace movement and leaders of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs met with workers and engineers of the Ordzhonikidze Machine Tools Plant in Moscow on 5 July. Those attending included Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; Bessmertnykh and Rogachev, deputy foreign ministers; Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace; members of the committee council; and noted Soviet journalists and scholars. This was the first meeting of its kind in our country's capital. A number of questions were raised by workers, such as questions on foreign policy and the influence of Soviet public opinion on Soviet foreign policy.

Answering a question on the Soviet Union's attitude to Pakistan's violation of the Geneva agreement, USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov said: As everyone knows, our troops are withdrawing from Afghanistan. Some 23,000 officers and men have already returned. In accordance with the Geneva agreement, the Soviet Union will pull out half its troops by 15 August, or 50,000 soldiers. As for Pakistan's failure to effectively carry out the Geneva agreement, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs has brought it up on several occasions. The Republic of Afghanistan has time and again lodged protests with and presented notes to the UN observer. We are continuing to withdraw our troops, but we have repeatedly warned Pakistan that if it continues to violate the agreement and fails to close down rebel headquarters, training camps, and supply depots or stop transferring weapons to the rebels, the Soviet Union will then be forced to consider the pace of its troop withdrawal. In conclusion, Vorontsov said: The world does not welcome such acts by Pakistan because an agreement once signed should be observed.

In answering a question on whether a Soviet-Chinese summit will be held, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev said: About 2 years ago, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping said that if the Soviet Union made [rang] Vietnam withdraw its troops from Cambodia, he would be willing to meet with Gorbachev in Moscow. As far as our position is concerned, we are ready to hold talks with Chinese leaders any time, any place. In such talks, the Soviet Union is prepared to discuss any issue either side may propose, and the Soviet Union will not put forward any preconditions. Therefore, I think an answer should be given by the Chinese side. Meanwhile, as people can see, the three obstacles—as the Chinese call them—including the Cambodian issue which they have recently stressed, are being removed. Thus, I believe that a Soviet-Chinese summit will be held, but for now I cannot say when it will be held. [passage omitted]

PRC Trade Union Delegation Continues Visit

Leader Interviewed

OW2007044988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Chinese trade unions seriously heed the expansion of friendly ties with the Soviet working class and all Soviet workers. Wang Xun, vice president of the China Trade Union External Relations Exchange Center of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, stated this in an interview with our station.

He is leading the China Trade Union Delegation currently visiting the Soviet Union. Wang Xun declared: The process of deepening reforms is underway in both China and the Soviet Union. Under these circumstances, trade unions in the two countries are faced with missions which are similar to a very great extent. The experience acquired by the Soviet Union during reforms is of significant interest to China.

The leader of the Chinese delegation pointed out: Chinese workers look very attentively at the process of reforms in the Soviet Union. He said: We wish the Soviet Union success in their reforms.

Group Ends Leningrad Visit

OW2007050488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] The Chinese Trade Union Delegation ended its visit in Leningrad, and left for Riga. The delegation acquainted itself with activities of Soviet trade unions under the conditions of reform. In an interview with TASS, the delegation's leader Wang Xun said: The changes in the Soviet Union have aroused a lot interest worldwide. Changes are also going on in China. Wang Xun pointed out: Under these circumstances, the exchange of experience is important and necessary.

PRC Parliamentarians Meet Supreme Soviet Aide

PM1907134388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Guests From the PRC"]

[Text] A delegation of the PRC National People's Congress Legislative Affairs Commission headed by Commission Vice Chairman Song Rufen arrived in Moscow 18 July at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Chambers' Legislative Proposals Commissions. On the same day the delegation paid a visit to the USSR Supreme Soviet Chambers' Legislative Proposals Commissions.

Welcoming the guests, V.G. Lomonosov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Legislative Proposals Commission, expressed the hope that their stay in the Soviet Union will make it possible to conduct a mutually useful exchange of experience, to strengthen interparliamentary ties between the two countries, and to improve the atmosphere of Soviet-Chinese relations as a whole.

Song Rufen emphasized that the Chinese delegation is pleased at the opportunity to obtain a broader and deeper impression of restructuring and socioeconomic transformations in the USSR and to see how these processes are developing in the Ukraine and Georgia.

The conversation took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Soviet Official Lauds Rising Border Trade

OW1707121488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 7 Jul 88

[From the program "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] Dear Chinese listeners, this station has broadcast a report on the third meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technological Cooperation held in Beijing in early June. At the meeting, the two sides discussed ways to further strengthen and improve bilateral ties and signed intergovernmental agreements on the establishment of Soviet-Chinese joint ventures and relevant rules governing their operation and on the development of economic and trade ties between Soviet organizations and enterprises owned by Chinese Government organizations. [passage omitted]

Today Comrade (Chiliyanova), an official of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade, will talk about border trade between the two countries.

Comrade (Chiliyanova) said: Border trade between Khabarovsk and (Yangtsao) Krays and Amur and Chita Oblasts on the Soviet side and Heilongjiang Province and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region on the Chinese side resumed in 1983. Since then border trade volume has rapidly increased and trade area has also expanded. Irkutsk and Sakhalin Oblasts, Buryat Autonomous Republic, and Krasnoyarsk Kray on the Soviet side and Jilin Province on the Chinese side have joined the border trade between the two countries.

Comrade (Chiliyanova) continued: Since 1986, Kazakhstan and other republics in the Soviet Central Asia region and a number of krays and oblasts in the RSFSR have also resumed border trade with China's Xingjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. Commodity fairs held in (Nakhodeka), Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Irkutsk, (Banamov), Tashkent, and other Soviet cities and in Harbin, Urumqi, Manzhouli, Hailar, and other Chinese cities have contributed to the development of border trade between the two countries.

Comrade (Chiliyanova) continued: A distinct feature of the border trade is the rapid increase in trade volume. Trade volume exceeded 50 million roubles in 1987 and is expected to reach 100 million roubles this year. Border trade benefits both sides. It contributes to the social and economic development of the border regions and helps improve the living standards of the local people. The Soviet Union imported from China food, knitwear, textile, leather, and cotton products and provided China with fertilizer, (?soda products), cement, glass, (?equipment), cars, motorcycles, and motorbikes, and electric home appliances.

Comrade (Chiliyanova) continued: The newly signed agreement on the development of economic and trade ties between Soviet organizations and enterprises owned by Chinese Government organizations is very important because it will contribute to an all-round development of economic cooperation and trade between the two countries. [passage omitted]

China's 'Great Interest' in CPSU Conference

OW2007000488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] According to a TASS reporter's dispatch from Beijing, China watched the convocation of the 19th All-Union Conference of CPSU Delegates with great interest. Chinese news media devoted much space and time to covering the preparations for the conference and its proceedings. In an interview with the TASS reporter, Xu Hui, director of China's Institute of Soviet and Eastern Europe and an academician in natural science, said: Of course, as experts in Soviet issues, we know how significant the questions discussed at the conference are. We were deeply impressed by the conference. The first thing that surprised us was the democratic atmosphere at the conference. Second, the conference was quite [word indistinct] to the errors and questions of the past and even errors and questions in reform over the past 3 years, for if you do not adopt a critical attitude toward the work done in the past, you cannot make any progress. Thirdly, the conference openly discussed the acute issues which the Soviet Union faced in making reform and explored

the methods of solving these issues and measures to deepen the reform. The conference discussed the reform of the Soviet political system.

Xu Hui said: In his report Comrade Gorbachev specifically pointed out the reason why the political system must be reformed by all means. What attracts China's attention most is the question of division of power between party and government organizations. China is currently also addressing this question. The conference put forward the splendid task of political system reform. The most important thing to do now is to carry out this plan. It is not easy. It is necessary to work hard on a long-term basis. In making reform, people will inevitably face difficulties and contradictions. China's experience is proof. It is necessary to overcome conservatism and dogmatism and also remember that blindfolded action is dangerous.

Xu Kui emphatically pointed out: China and the Soviet Union are facing similar questions. Therefore, it is necessary to exchange much experience in all fields.

Joint Television Program Exchanges Arranged
OW1907170288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, let's talk about movies now. I presume that most of you listeners usually go to the movies at night. But before arranging night-time activities, many of you, I think, will first consult movie advertisements in the morning. (Glasov), an official of a Soviet film export company, told this station's reporter (Yanisov) that China's movie advertisements will soon introduce new Soviet films, or more specific, Soviet TV programs, to Chinese audiences. (Glasov), on behalf of the Soviet film export company, has held talks with representatives from China's Central Television service and the Beijing television station [station not further specified] concerning program exchange.

Yes, you are absolutely right. Now let's hear it from (Glasov) himself.

[(Glasov)] The Central Television Service and the Beijing television station are our new partners. In the past, the Soviet programs broadcast on Chinese television were either provided by the Soviet Embassy in Beijing or through periodic exchanges. I believe our contacts with Chinese TV stations will proceed now on a regular, mutually beneficial basis. Actually, this contact has been concrete and reciprocal from the very beginning.

[(Yanisov)] What kind of films have the Chinese partners selected?

[(Glasov)] I cannot give you the specific names of the programs, but they are very interested in childrens' programs and cartoons. From what I know, they have also selected many programs on Soviet history and (word indistinct). According to them, these programs will be welcomed by TV viewers there. The Central Television station and the Beijing television station soon will make final decisions on their choices. I can give you more specific information then.

[(Yanisov)] Speaking of mutual beneficial contact, can you tell us what programs the Chinese TV stations offer?

[(Glasov)] They recommend a lot of feature films. [passage omitted] Our purchase priority is films with artistic value that can also be shown in movie theaters. After the problem of the length of films is solved, we will begin regular exchanges of TV programs. China will sponsor a TV program exchange meeting this fall. TV stations from many countries will take part in the meeting. The Soviet film export company will attend the meeting in Shanghai with lots of new TV films, TV series, short-length films, cartoons, and videotapes. The continuing expansion of this contact is gratifying. I would like to mention one more thing. A Chinese television production team will arrive in the Soviet Union on 8 July to film a documentary on the Soviet Union. This is the first time a Chinese production team has come to the Soviet Union to make a film. I believe the results of its production will be very interesting.

Radio Criticizes Bush Remarks on Plane Downing
OW2007043088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 15 Jul 88

[(Povjin) commentary]

[Text] A U.S. warship shot down an Iranian airliner and killed all 290 passengers and 8 crew members on board. I would like to call your attention to the fact that the U.S. vice president, for the first time, defended U.S.interests at a UNSC meeting. I don't want to comment on why he did so. Perhaps it was because he was compelled to do so by an extremely sensitive issue regarding the U.S. position, as an observer has pointed out. There are some people who think that Bush was trying to win more support for his presidential campaign from chauvinists among the American people.

I think we can reach two conclusions, no matter what Bush has explained. First, it is wrong for the United States to shield its state terrorists and shift the responsibility onto others. U.S. Vice President Bush said that whoever directed the airliner to the battle zone should be held responsible for the tragedy. I don't think that his remarks are rational. Why should an international air route be affected by U.S. military activities? We should ask another question—why are U.S. warships operating in a region where their presence will surely cause tragedies?

Let us further discuss U.S. Vice President Bush's remarks at the UNSC meeting. In fact, the United States should take measures to prevent similar incidents after this tragedy. However, it hasn't at all. The United States and its allies are still pursuing the same military policy in the Gulf Region.

Northeast Asia

Petrovskiy Meets With DPRK Foreign Minister

PM1907083588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is in Pyongyang, has been received by Kim Yong-nam, member of the Workers Party of Korea (WPK) Central Committee Politburo, deputy premier of the Administrative Council, and DPRK foreign minister.

Consultations were held at the DPRK Foreign Ministry, in which the following took part: On the Soviet side, A.M. Belonogov, permanent Soviet representative to the United Nations; on the Korean side, first deputy minister Kang Sok-chu, deputy minister Kim Hyong-yul, and heads of departments.

There was an in-depth discussion of international problems and, in particular, of problems relating to the formation of a reliable security system in the Asian and Pacific region and making the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone.

KYODO Political Commentator Interviewed

OW1907085388 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Interview with KYODO News Agency Political Commentator Minoru Takahashi by Radio Moscow reporter Fedorenko; date and place not given—recorded; no initial question provided]

[Excerpts] [Takahashi] During my stay in Moscow, I was able to interview Minister of Defense Dmitriy Yazov. The interview was very interesting for us Japanese and for Japanese military experts and journalists studying politics and international relations. In short, Yazov's statement, to us Japanese, was quite flexible and soft compared to the Soviet position heretofore. I felt that his statement was made with a certain desire to approach Japan on the basis of a realistic and objective assessment of current military issues in the Asia and Pacific Region. This is a very important matter.

Recently, U.S.-USSR relations have been improving little by little. It all started with the military question of whether to continue keeping nuclear weapons or to gradually reduce them. Today, the improvement of relations has extended to economic, cultural, and personnel exchanges. In the case of Japan-USSR relations, I felt that Yazov was suggesting that if we look at the present situation objectively and dispassionately, there is a need for discussion or some form of consultation to eliminate fear and the sense of threat and develop a feeling of security on both sides, in other words, there is a need for deliberations on military and defense issues in a very broad sense.

At present, various things are being said about Japan-Soviet relations, such as that economics is most important, or that politics is another question, or that the northern territories issue must be resolved first. There are differing views. But my present impression is that the starting point ought to be the military and defense issue and the question of whether one country threatens the other. I feel strongly about this. Of course, there are other difficult problems. The military question is the most important. [passage omitted]

In a world that is economically becoming one and where war is becoming impossible to wage, as Gorbachev and DIE WELT have said... [changing thought] a Soviet scholar I met last year also stated that Gorbachev's report at the 27th CPSU Congress was the first to attest to the fact that such an era of interdependence would extend worldwide and that the whole world would become one economy. Even between capitalist and socialist countries, an interdependent relationship would exist.

I agree with Primakov's speech published in PRAVDA of 10 July last year. I think he was absolutely right. In such an era, democratization is not only a must for the USSR, but also for Japan, the United States, the developing countries, the northern and southern halves of the Korean peninsula, and the Middle East. I think the conditions are present for democratization or to create an era wherein different people can make different choices in solving problems concerning their politics and livelihood. Thus, I think the CPSU has also made an objective and natural choice under such conditions.

The question of Asia and the Pacific is important in the sense that it is a proof that the world economy is becoming integrated and in the context that democratization has been raised as a world issue.

[Fedorenko] As Mr. Takahashi mentioned, the Primakov speech also discussed the question of internationalization. Although Primakov mainly talked about the domestic aspect, do you think there are common problems between the USSR and Japan on the issue of internalization?

[Takahashi] I think there are. My impression is that in Primakov's speech, he suggested that internationalization and democratization should go hand in hand. I think he said that internationalization should not be a pursuit of the government or the powerholders. The common people should engage in international exchange, think about international issues, and get to know people of different countries. There is a similar problem in Japan. [passage omitted]

Near East & South Asia

Gulf 'Good News,' U.S. 'Self-Deception' Viewed

LD1907152088 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—TASS Political Observer Askold Biryukov writes:

Good news has come from the Persian Gulf area where a senseless and tragically fierce war has been going on for more than seven years. As a goodwill gesture, the high command of Iraq fully withdrew Iraqi troops from the Iranian town of Dehloran captured by them several days before. A high command spokesman said that Iraq had no territorial claims to Iran.

On its part, Tehran announced that Iran accepted Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council demanding ceasefire in the Iranian-Iraqi front. A message sent to U.N. Seretary General Perez de Cuellar said that the Islamic Republic of Iran welcomed his efforts and accepted Resolution 598 "in the interests of security based on justice". It was pointed out that Iran supported the efforts of the U.N. secretary general aimed at finding peaceful ways of putting an end to the Iranian-Iraqi war.

The Soviet Union was perfectly right when it insisted that an opportunity should be given to the U.N. secretary general to realize the potentialities contained in the above mentioned resolution of the U.N. Security Council and in this way to tackle the problem of stopping hostilities. Restraint, self-control, a realistic approach and common sense proved to be effective. A political settlement of the Afghanistan-related situation, and now the developments in the Persian Gulf show that the world community is capable of settling most complicated regional conflicts by political means. Now all the members of the world community and primarily direct participants in the conflict in that region should exert efforts for ceasefire there to become a reality, for all the settlement problems to be resolved at the negotiating table, for durable peace and stability to be finally established in the region.

However, statements coming from some Western circles, primarily those of the U.S., give some grounds for concern. They try to explain the present-day developments on the basis of the hackneyed political notions of the past. According to some statements, these developments are the direct result of the bringing down of a Iranian civil airliner by a U.S. naval ship, of a massive U.S. military buildup in the Persian Gulf area which, according to Phyllis Oakley, representative of the U.S. Department of State, promoted stability and prevented the expansion of the war. The implication is that the present-day developments are the direct result of the policy from the position of strength pursued by the U.S. in that region. Such allegations are nothing but deception and dangerous self-deception.

The sending of a U.S. naval squadron to the Persian Gulf did not promote the termination of the Iranian-Iraqi war. On the contrary, it further increased the threat to the safety of navigation and, as the accident with the Iranian airliner showed, to the safety of the air traffic as well. The number of attacks on ships of various countries in the Persian Gulf and, as a consequence, the number of victims of those attacks, dramatically increased.

A massive U.S. military presence added a new quality to the threat to peace and security both in that region and in the world in general. It is not surprising that many press organs, including those in the West, regard it as a kind of a miracle that the bitter conflict in the Persian Gulf has not developed into a bigger one.

Strange as it may seem, Washington is not inclined to draw proper conclusions from this situation. When asked about a possible withdrawal of U.S. naval ships from the Persian Gulf, Phyllis Oakley said that the U.S. was going to remain a strong player in the Gulf, that its policy had not changed. However, to keep the U.S. naval armada in the Persian Gulf is the same as to keep a combustible material in the region that can bring about another explosion, another military conflagration that can be started by a single spark.

It is not sabre-rattling, but the removal of armaments from the region that is needed for stopping the conflict once and for all, for replacing it with peace, stability and cooperation in the interests of all the countries. The settlement of the conflict should be based not on armaments, but on standards of the international law taking into consideration the lawful interests of all the parties concerned and ruling out foreign interference. The world community of nations in the person of the United Nations Organization should go on with honest and constructive efforts aimed at transferring the Iranian-Iraqi conflict to the course of peaceful solutions. This would meet the interests of the Iranian and Iraqi peoples and would be in line with the major tasks connected with the overall improvement of the world situation.

Iran's Decision Labeled 'Glad Tidings'

NC1907103088 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1800 GMT 18 Jul 88

[(Anatoliy Mikhailov) commentary]

[Text] Important, glad tidings were received from Tehran on Monday. Iran announced that it had accepted UN Security Council Resolution 598, which calls for a ceasefire on the Iran-Iraq warfronts. IRNA reported that Iran, in its message to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, expressed its support for his efforts to find an amicable way to end the war. Iraq had also recently reiterated its readiness to implement the Security Council resolution, expressing its interest in this regard.

Radio Moscow Commentator (Anatoliy Mikhailov) writes: Thus, signs have finally appeared in the conflict between Iran and Iraq, which has been going on for more than 7 years, that wisdom and sagacity are gaining the upper hand. It is hoped that in the initial phase of the cease-fire other steps for the amicable settlement of the conflict will also be taken. Whenever this war is mentioned I can't help but recall the famous painting by (Bereshagin), depicting the war at its peak. In this painting a large mass of human skulls represents the victims of the policy of resolving (?disputes) militarily.

The Iran-Iraq war has caused the loss of 2 million human beings on both sides. This war has dealt a blow to the economies of both countries. It has also served to weaken the front of the general Arab struggle against imperialism and delayed a just solution of the Near East crisis.

Capitalizing on the war, the United States has boosted its military presence in the region. On the pretext of ensuring the safety of navigation in the Persian Gulf, the United States has stationed 27 of its warships in the region. Its policy of force, based on escalating tension, culminated in the recent disaster of U.S. warships attacking an Iranian plane with missiles, which killed nearly 300 people.

Now that the two sides support a peaceful solution to the conflict, it is necessary to eliminate tension in the Persian Gulf. Normalization can be restored only through the departure of foreign warships and settlement of security issues through the establishment of a UN naval force.

(Anatoliy Mikhailov) concludes: I wish to express optimism that all this will assist Iran and Iraq in terminating their (?futile) and meaningless war, resolving mutual ties [as heard], and becoming good neighbors.

Vorontsov Arrives in Iraq to Discuss War
LD1807115288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, has arrived in the Iraqi capital. At the airport he told journalists he would be consulting with the Iraqi side on the situation in the region and prospects for halting the Iran-Iraq conflict through peaceful means. The USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs will exchange views on ways to settle the Middle East conflict, and report on the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and restructuring in the USSR.

Meets Husayn, 'Aziz, 'Arafat
LD1907111788 Moscow TASS in English 1048 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Baghdad July 19 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, visited Iraq from July 17 to 19. He was received by President Saddam Husayn and had a meeting with Tariq 'Aziz, Iraqi deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

The conversations were marked by the atmospere of sincerity and mutual trust. The sides had a detailed exchange of opinions on the current situation in the Iran-Iraq conflict and propsects of re-establishing peace and stability in the region.

Yuliy Vorontsov confirmed the Soviet Union's principled stance in favour of the earliest cessation of the Iran-Iraq war and said efforts should be stepped up to use in full measure the peace potential of the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 598 and the possibilities of the U.N. secretary general to perform his intermediary mission.

Some issues of Sovet-Iraqi relations were also discssed. Both sides expressed readiness to further promote mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iraq.

Yuliy Vorontsov met Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, to discuss ways of settling the Arab-Israeli conflict and the convocation of the international Middle East peace conference in that context.

Both sides confirmed their intention to continue the practice of political consultations and to promote and strengthen Soviet-Palestinian relations on the basis of the results of Gorbachev-'Arafat meeting in Moscow in April 1988.

Iraqi Ambassador Marks Revolution Anniversary
LD1807174388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Address by Iraqi Ambassador Sa'd 'Abd al-Majid al-Faysal marking anniversary of Iraqi revolution; place not given—recorded in Arabic with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpts] Greetings, comrades. [preceeding words spoken in Russian]

The Iraqi people are marking a significant date today, the 20th anniversary of the glorious revolution of 17-30 July 1968, accomplished by the socialist Arab Ba'th Party under the wise leadership of President Saddam Husayn. [passage omitted]

Iraq is conducting a policy of good-neighborliness and mutual understanding with neighboring countries. It is sincerely seeking the establishment of relations of peace and mutual understanding with neighboring Iran. Now, just as it did almost 8 years ago when the war with Iran began, Iraq is calling sincerely for a search for a way to solve the conflict between the two countries peacefully, in accordance with the declaration of the will of the world community expressed in UN Security Council Resolution 598 of 20 July 1987.

Therefore, it is necessary to confirm the importance of the world community's responsibility, of the need for its participation in the halting of this destructive war and its adoption of urgent measures to facilitate the fulfillment of Resolution 598 in full and in its original form. In calling for peace, Iraq proceeds from a desire to avert further bloodshed and from its responsibility before its own people and the world community, not from weakness or meekness. This is evident in the victories gained by Iraq recently in the battles for the liberation of the Al-Faw peninsula, the southernmost point of Iraq; the

region of Shalamjah [Shalamcheh]; the Majnun Islands, to the north of the Shatt al-'Arab river; and other territories, right up to the state border.

Iraq seeks to consolidate ties with friendly, freedom-loving, and peace-loving countries and to develop further relations with the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, with which Iraq is linked by a treaty of friendship and cooperation. We are making efforts to develop these relations further in the interests of both our countries and peoples. We are also following with great interest the course of the creative process of restructuring which is going on in the USSR. We wish the friendly Soviet people success in this matter and further progress.

Thank you for your attention. [preceding words spoken in Russian]

USSR-Iraq 'Friendship Days' Open in Moscow

PM1907083188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Dedicated to National Day"]

[Text] The Soviet-Iraqi Friendship Days festival is dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the July revolution—an Iraqi national day.

It was noted in the speeches made at a public meeting in Moscow on 14 July, marking the opening of the Friendship Days, that Soviet-Iraqi relations have long-standing, good traditions. The Friendship Days will be a new landmark in the deepening of multifaceted ties between the two countries.

The speakers expressed genuine concern at the protracted war between Iran and Iraq and spoke in favor of the need to move as soon as possible to peaceful means of resolving the conflict and settling the disputes dividing these two neighboring states.

S. Hammadi, member of the Revolution Command Council and speaker of the Iraqi National Assembly, who is head of the delegation to the opening of the Soviet-Iraqi Friendship Days, spoke about the friendly people's desire to continue to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the USSR.

The meeting was attended by S.'A.M. al-Faysal, Iraqi ambassador to the Soviet Union.

On the same day S. Hammadi gave a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center.

Kabul Blast Reported, Rumors Discredited

LD1907123588 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 19 TASS—TASS correspondent A. Semenov reports:

Afghan extremists responded with a new provovation to the call to observe the days of the forthcoming Muslim feast 'Id al-Adha (feast of the sacrifice) as the days of reconciliation among Afghans this morning. The call was contained in a statement of the Afghan president's office which was published by Afghan newspapers on Monday.

Eleven rocket projectiles went off in one of Kabul's densely-populated districts at about six o'clock this morning when Kabul residents were heading for work. According to preliminary figures, nine people were killed and from 14 to 25 (according to various estimations) were wounded. Three houses were destroyed.

Hardly had the dust produced by the blasts managed to accumulate, rumours that the shelling had been carried out by the Soviet troops started to spread.

Such rumours are engendering unfriendly feelings towards Soviet people among some Afghans. However, the majority of the Kabul residents do not believe this lie. Shellings and the campaign to spread rumours are the links of one chain aimed at discrediting the Soviet internationalist aid to Afghanistan and intimidating the local population.

Kabul Statement Condemns U.S. Interference

LD1907123188 Moscow TASS in English 1118 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 19 TASS—In connection with the recent article in the newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST dealing with the U.S. plans to continue arms supplies to Afghan extremist groups operating from Pakistani territory, a spokesman for the Afghan Foreign Ministry made the following statement. According to BAKHTAR news agency, the statement reads in part:

The U.S. intention to support counterrevolutionary groups constitutes not only flagrant violation of the Geneva accords but also an attempt to push Pakistan to the non-observance of these accords.

It is necessary to note that the USA expresses its satisfaction with the fact that the Afghan rebels are currently armed with the most advanced weapons, having in mind their readiness to continue the fratricidal war and sow death and destruction on Afghan soil.

This is an evidence of the continued criminal interference by the United States in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Supplies of American weapons to extremists, including Stinger missiles, mortars, long-range artillery guns and rocket projectiles with the range of up to 24

km, led during the years of underclared war to great losses among the Afghan people, inflicted damage to the national economy estimated at many billion dollars.

Trying to justify its actions in the eyes of the world public, the USA tries to draw a parallel between its arms supplies to the bandits and Soviet aid to the legitimate Government of Afghanistan. Americans propounded this thesis on many occasions during the Geneva talks as well. However, supporting terrorists has nothing in common with aid to an independent, sovreign and nonaligned country, carried out on the basis of bilateral agreements signed with the other country. The USA has to respect the general norms and relationships between states, the U.N. Charter, the agreements signed at Geneva and make its contribution to their implementation.

The Republic of Afghanistan resolutely demands that the USA put end to any forms of interference in the internal affairs of its country, respect its sovereignty and strictly observe the Geneva accords, whose guarantor it is.

'Facts' Show Pakistan Ignoring Geneva Accords

PM1907150988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Krotov "Pertinent Remarks": "Caravans of Terror"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Pakistani authorities continue to avoid honoring the pledges stemming from the Geneva accords by not preventing the insurgents from setting up new bases and dumps in Pakistani territory. Such arms dumps have appeared in the Khyber region literally in the last few weeks. A large quantity of ammunition has been transported there, including about 300 Blowpipe and Stinger missiles.

A few days ago THE WASHINGTON POST published a report saying that, for several weeks now, Pakistan has supposedly prevented insurgents from infiltrating into Afghanistan's territory. The purpose of this report is totally transparent—to save face for Islamabad and, at the same time, its prestige. But if THE WASHINGTON POST is to be believed, how is one to explain the death of Pakistani journalist Ershad Ahmad, correspondent of the newspaper MUSLIM, who was killed in the Qandahar region, where he had recently traveled from Pakistan as part of a group of insurgents.

Figures give an idea of the real meaning of this "peace initiative" by Pakistan. On 1 July this year 26 people were shot at Matasangar [name as published] Pass while 65 families of Afghan refugees were returning home. According to data from the Afghan Ministry of Internal Affairs, there were 22 armed raids on Afghan cities and settlements and missiles were fired on 61 population centers between 15 June and 1 July. All this was done by weapons and insurgents that have arrived from Pakistan. These are facts.

Afghanistan Submits 53d Protest Note

LD1907214988 Moscow TASS in English 2112 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 19 TASS—Today the Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan sent the group of U.N. observers in Kabul another, 53rd note of the Afghan Government which points to non-observance by the Pakistani side of the Geneva accords.

The document contains new specific facts of the agreements' violation and a request to inform the Afghan Government, as well as the representative of the U.N. secretary general of results of their examination.

Former POW Returns, Describes Captivity

[Quotation marks as received]
LD2007011088 Moscow TASS in English 2251 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—A long-haired man in a jeans suit sat in front of Soviet and foreign correspondents. That was Nikolay Golovin, a former private of the Soviet Army who had been taken prisoner in Afghanistan and who had been abroad for seven and a half years. Today an Aeroflot jetliner brought him home from Montreal. All those present at the press conference felt inner tension experienced by Nikolay: It was difficult for him to speak because of emotions.

"In 1980," Golovin says, I was called up to the Soviet Army and was dispatched to Afghanistan early in 1981 after a special course for conscripts. Soon I was taken prisoner by a group of the Armed Afghan opposition."

"Between 1982 and 1984 I was kept in Afghanistan, then they transferred me over mountain paths to Pakistan where I was detained for another two years. Staying in a camp of the armed opposition in the village of Rund [name as received] on the border with Afghanistan, I made an attempt to flee to return to my homeland. However, the Pakistani police arrested me in the village of Bala. I was brutally beaten and handed over to Afghan mutineers.

"Some time later I was moved to Canada, along with Kharkov resident Igor Kovalchuk, another prisoner of war.

The decision to return home had been growing stronger for a long time," says Golovin. "But we were persuaded in every way, scared with reprisals which were allegedly in store for us at home. Nevertheless, I called by telephone, at long last, the Soviet Consul in Ottawa yesterday. And here I am now in Moscow. Today I go home, to Ulyanovsk region. I plan to work as a construction electrician. I should like to point out," Nikolay says, "that my comrades staying in Canada should know that nothing has happened to me after my return home. I believe that fear of a possible punishment keeps them there, which was constantly said to us by our

'patrons'. This fear should disappear after the statement by USSR Procurator General Aleksandr Sukharev who said that those who had not been able to withstand hostile propaganda, had been unable to suffer any longer tortures and privations of captivity and committed wrongdoings to the detriment of the USSR, would be amnestied, proceeding from supreme consideraions of socialist humanism.

Afghan Army Successes Recounted 18 Jul

LD1807195588 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 18 TASS—Nangarhar, Qandahar, Zabul, Samangan and some other provinces of Afghanistan today attract special attention of the parties to the armed conflict. The strength of positions of state power, which on its own is defending itself from rebel attacks, is being checked exactly there. Contrary to boastful statements of leaders of the Peshawar Alliance of Seven and prophecies of Western Afghanologists, Afghan Armed Forces are inflicting considerable losses on the "irreconcilable".

Afghan Army units destroyed scores of mojaheds, including five leaders, in the course of the continuing fighting in the Achin and Nazian districts (Nangarhar Province). Among them is certain Zamannlandi [name as received], who was commander of four big units of the opposition. Afghan servicemen damaged or captured a big quantity of weapons, including a jet mortar, eight grenade launchers, six recoilless guns, five mortars, two portable radio stations and up to 200 units of firearms. Having sustained heavy losses, the group, based in the Haska Mena [name as received] district, was compelled to leave its positions under strikes of governmental troops.

Successes of armed forces of the Republic in Nangarhar are stimulating the inflow of repatriates. Over 100 people returned to the province from Pakistan in the past day alone. They were provided with rooms at the Jalalabad peace hotel. After having rest and receiving material aid, former refugees will go to native kishlaks.

Tension persists in Qandahar, one of the key provinces of the country. On Sunday, rebels acting in the Arghandab district bombarded a district centre from heavy weapons. There are casualties among civilians, a mosque and a holy moslem place—the grave of a saint were damaged.

Qandahar clergymen who gathered to meet Governor of the Province General Nurul Haq 'Ulumi, have reaffirmed support for the national reconciliation policy. Mullahs, imams and ulamas strongly denounced the anti-Islamic actions of extremists who stage terrorist acts against civilian population. Clergymen of Qandahar unanimously declared for the need of strict compliance with the Geneva accords including by commanders of opposition formations, who are not signatories to the accords.

According to reports reaching here, the recent successful combat operations of Afghanistan's Army in Zabul Province, impelled leaders of the Alliance of Seven to send there a special commission to find out the causes of the defeat of their armed groups. At a meeting which was held at the Alizai [name as received] kishlak of the Shinkay district, the commission admitted that during the fighting in Zabul killed were three foreign advisers (citizens of the United States and France), two Pakistani instructors, three unit commanders, 310 rank-and-file rebels, and 175 were wounded. Governmental troops destroyed seven missile units, capured 250 submachine guns, 4,000 mines and eleven motor vehicles.

Libyan Moves on Maghreb 'Annoying' U.S.

LD1607070488 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 15 Jul 88

["Weekly Talk" by Aleksandr Timoshkin]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Let us take a look at another example of U.S. military force in the Mediterranean basin: the "Bright Star" maneuvers which will start next month. These will mainly take place on Egyptian soil and territorial waters, and they have been taking place regularly for many years near the borders of the Libyan Jamahiriyah. This has always been intentional. For some time, Washington has been carrying out various activities in order to punish the Jamahiriyah, which refuses to submit to Washington's will. The United States tries to excuse its aggressive actions against Libya in terms of Libya's involvement in the Republic of Chad. However, the Libyan Jamahiriyah has taken positive initiatives in regard to settling its relations with the Republic of Chad and also in respect to combatting international terrorism.

What are the results of that? The constructive steps of the Libyan Jamahiriyah toward normalizing relations among the Arab Maghreb states are now annoying Washington. It is through these steps that strong and overall cooperation among five states of the Arab Maghreb—Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Mauritania—are being promoted. The aim of these states is to create a greater Maghreb as an inseparable part of an unified Arab homeland. These intentions do not at all suit those in the United States who are practicing the policy of divide and rule. [passage omitted]

Indian President Stops Over in Tashkent

LD1607200388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Indian President Venkataraman has stopped over in Tashkent for a brief visit on his way from Ulaanbataar to Delhi. At the airport he was met and seen off by Khabibullayev, chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, and other official figures.

Sub-Saharan Africa

African Leader Endorses Angola, Cuba on Namibia

LD1607023388 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Luanda July 15 TASS—The South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) supports the proposals of Angola and Cuba, aimed at stabilising the situation and establishing peace in the south-west of the African Continent, said Amdimba Toivo Ja Toivo, SWAPO's secretary general.

Addressing in Luanda a seminar of heads of SWAPO diplomatic missions abroad, he suggested that the talks between Angola, Cuba, the USA and South Africa must result in the elaboration of concerted measures for implementing U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia. Of crucial importance for the attainment of peace in the south of Africa, the SWAPO secretary general said, are an end to the South-African aggression against Angola, the cessation of the U.S. and South-African aid to the counter-revolutionary UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] faction, withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angolan territory and decolonisation of Namibia under Security Council Resolution 435.

As to SWAPO's participation in those talks, it would at present be premature, Toivo Ja Toivo said.

Zimbabwe Ambassador Arrives in Moscow

PM1907151988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Morning Edition p5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 14 July Misheck Mpanda Sibanda, Zimbabwean ambassador to the Soviet Union, arrived in Moscow.

Demichev Receives Togo Envoy's Credentials

PM1607140988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] Egolia Kpanzou, Togolese ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented his credentials in the Kremlin 15 July to P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

After the presentation of credentials and an exchange of speeches there was a friendly talk between P.N. Demichev and E. Kpanzou.

Presidium Greets Comoros President on National Day

PM1907151588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sent President Ahmed Abdallah Abderamane of the Federal Islamic Republic of Comoros a telegram conveying greetings and best wishes to the head of state and all Comoran people on the occasion of the country's national holiday—Independence Proclamation Day.

In a telegram in reply Ahmed Abdallah Abderamane expressed thanks for the greetings on behalf of the Comoros Islands people and on his own account and wished happiness, progress, and further prosperity to the friendly Soviet people.

East Europe

PZPR's Jaruzelski, MSZMP's Grosz Meet

PM1907141388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "High Assessment"]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul—The flexible foreign policy in keeping with the new thinking and the important initiatives of the USSR and other socialist community states have strengthened the positive trends in international relations. This was mentioned in a report published here on the friendly meeting held in the Polish capital between W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State, and K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. They noted that Poland and Hungary are profoundly interested in strengthening these positive trends and will take an active part in shaping and implementing the socialist states' concerted foreign policy and an active part in resolving regional and global problems.

Both leaders advocated restructuring multilateral cooperation among the socialist community states in accordance with the decisions of the Warsaw Conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and the 44th sitting of the CEMA session.

The decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which attest to the bold and consistent implementation of political restructuring and glasnost in the USSR, received a high assessment at the meeting.

W. Jaruzelski and K. Grosz stressed the significance of the developing process of renewal in socialist countries, which is assuming crucial importance for the future of socialism. They expressed satisfaction at the successful development of Polish-Hungarian relations and stressed the significance of the systematic and extensive exchange

of experience and the use of effective and innovative forms of political and economic cooperation. Poland and Hungary, the report said, will continue to seek new opportunities and spheres for cooperation in accordance with the requirements of the present phase of socialist building.

More on Raisa Gorbacheva in Oswiecim, Katowice
PM1907134788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "On Silesian Land"]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul—Within the framework of the official friendly visit to the Polish People's Republic by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, a group of Soviet comrades and B. Jaruzelska visited the Oswiecim Museum and the former concentration camp in Brzezinka. On behalf of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, CPSU Central Committee Members Ye.Ye. Sokolov, V.I. Boldin, and N.Ye. Kruchina together with R.M. Gorbacheva laid flowers by the Wall of Death, in the crematorium, and at the monuments to peoples of different countries and to Soviet people who fell victims to fascism.

On the same day, flowers were laid on behalf of M.S. Gorbachev at the monument to the heroes of the Silesian uprisings in Katowice.

The Soviet comrades were accompanied by M. Gorywoda, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Party Committee, who was presented with a letter to the residents of Silesia from the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It says:

"Dear Polish friends!

"It is with the most sincere feelings of sympathy for you, residents of working Silesia, that I would like to present to you, on behalf of Soviet working people, equipment for the reception of our television programs. I hope that it will help you to better and more profoundly understand Soviet people's life today and the way the revolutionary processes of restructuring are developing in our country.

"Today we all are living in an unusually interesting, albeit difficult time. This is a crucial time, and it will largely determine the fate and future of our peoples. The parties and the peoples of the Soviet Union and Poland have a common goal—to more fully reveal the socialist system's potential. We are marching together toward this goal, enriching one another with our experiences. It is difficult to overrate the role of television as a medium for bringing us spiritually closer together.

"I wish you with all my heart, friends, great successes in the cause of the socialist renewal of People's Poland, as well as happiness and prosperity."

Accepting the letter, M. Gorywoda expressed heartfelt thanks for the wishes and the valuable gift on behalf of the Katowice Voivodship working people. He asked the wife of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to convey ardent greetings from the region's residents and wishes for success in the implementation of the restructuring program.

R.M. Gorbacheva conversed with residents of the city and the voivodship by the monument to the Silesian uprisings in Katowice. During her trip, R.M. Gorbacheva gave an interview to journalists.

CSSR Paper Cited on Dubcek's 'Unseemly Conduct'
LD1907212888 Moscow TASS in English 2105 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 19 TASS—Citizen Dubcek who left the Czechoslovak political scene in 1968 has been giving one interview after another in the recent months, the newspaper RUDE PRAVO writes today in connection with another attempt of the Italian television to rehabilitate Dubcek as a political figure. In these interviews, he tries to assert that he did nothing but good in 1968, that he was implementing restructuring already then, and that he firmly held power and that anti-socialist forces have been invented, the newspaper writes.

On the one hand, he admits, as an interview to the Austrian television, that Czechoslovakia had certain achievements over the past 20 years, on the other hand, he denies this, as in interviews to LIFE and the Voice of America. Dubcek stated that if everything by which he had been living over the past 20 years can be described as life, then he can say that he have made himself living all these years (he said this in an interview to the Voice of America). It is known, however, that all this time he has been working as a senior mechanic in a logging enterprise, not far from Bratislav, that he had a house, a yacht, that his sons graduated from higher educational establishments (he said this in his interviews to LIFE), that his wife and a granddaughter were going to vacation in Yugoslavia, while he intended to make a trip to Bologna where he was to be presented with a diploma of honorary doctor of the University of Bologna.

He is good at playacting. In an interview to the U.S. magazine LIFE Dubcek boasted that he had had chances to become an American. He said that when his parents were returning to Czechoslovakia from the USA, his mother was pregnant, which means that he had been conceived in the USA. Asked if he has contacts with compatriots, Dubcek answered that he has very good contacts with them. When he takes out garbage, he always talks with them in the street.

The main contents of his interviews is slandering everything which regards Czechoslovakia's home policy, and reforms, RUDE PRAVO writes. He categorically demands political rehabilitation, speculates on changes taking place in the Soviet Union. In one interview he compared himself to Bela Kun, to Nikolay BUkharin. He has no modesty at all and never says a word of self-criticism.

This is why he is constantly invited to give interviews in the West. His unseemly conduct, immoderate vanity and the striving to emerge on the political scene again are taken advantage of. So he has been entrapped again and has become a pawn for manipulations of others, the same way as it happened in 1968.

In this situation the Italian television made a provocation. It has circulated a report that it will broadcast an interview allegedly given by Dubcek to Soviet television. But there has been no such interview. It is sought now to use Dubcek to drive a wedge between restructuring in Czechoslovakia and Soviet perestroyka, RUDE PRAVO writes in conclusion.

Hungarian Parliament's Activities Described

PM1907155388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent B. Rodionov "Letter from Budapest": "When the Parliament Chamber Emptied..."]

[Text] The chamber of the Hungarian parliament emptied and the deputies, who had been taking part in the summer session of the National Assembly, went home. The notable feature of this session—the first since the MSZMP national conference—was the same as that which IZVESTIYA described recently regarding the Polish Sejm: The parliament showed character. Clearly, this phenomenon is becoming typical under conditions of the reform of the socialist political system.

According to the established procedure, this eminent assembly received the recommended list of candidates for various state posts submitted to it by the MSZMP Central Committee Plenum and the Patriotic People's Front National Council. Unlike previous years, the candidates were announced in advance in the press. The first question to be settled was the post of chairman of the Hungarian Presidium. (The previous chairman, K. Nemeth, was not elected by party conference delegates to the new Central Committee and offered his resignation). After a discussion, Academician Bruno F. Straub, an eminent scientist and scientific organizer, chairman of the parliamentary standing commission on the development of population centers and environmental protection, and not a member of the party, was elected.

Real verbal battles flared up over the election of the chairman of the Hungarian State Assembly. When parliamentarians heard that the candidate was being nominated "from above" and, furthermore, that only one was being offered, they considered this an infringement of the right of the people's elected representatives. After all, literally the day before, an election had been held for the post of first secretary of the MSZMP Budapest city committee, where a intense duel took place between two contenders. The conflict was only settled at the third attempt. What's going on, deputies said among themselves, one law for the party and another for parliament?

One after another they demanded the floor. An elderly orderly hurried between the rows carrying a microphone. Deputies talked a lot about the fact that they had been deprived of the opportunity of holding an election and of proposing in addition to the nominated candidate—who, as everyone noted, is a worthy one—other no less worthy candidates. The alternative candidates nominated there and then immediately withdrew, giving various reasons. One of them, an esteemed public figure, proved to be not a deputy at all but a visitor to the parliament. Somewhat perplexed at first, F. Cservenka, the deputy chairman of the State Assembly who was chairing the session, decided to intervene in the battle and announced that the procedure governing the State Assembly's work permits the nomination of no more than three candidates approved by the MSZMP Central Committee and the Patriotic People's Front (this procedure is now being reviewed). She also stated that there have been consultations with oblast deputy groups on all proposals concerned with personnel questions and there were no objections there.

Deputies heard that 60-year old Istvan Stadinger, in his youth an assembly worker and later director of various enterprises, earned an economics diploma without taking time out from work. He currently works as first deputy chairman of the Budapest city council and heads the parliamentary commission on construction and transport. "My character is open," Stadinger said, clearly incensed, "I am ready to answer any questions from my esteemed colleagues." This went down well. Ultimately, the State Assembly did not want to be left without a chairman until the fall. There was a secret ballot, and Stadinger won a majority. However, the dissatisfaction with the nomination procedure showed in the result: 222 in favor, 129 against. This was a result unprecedented in the past 40 years! It is indicative that the MSZMP deputies' group did not intervene in the debate and did not tie the communist deputies' hands.

Neither was there complete unanimity when it came to filling the revived post of state minister. The only candidate was Imre Pozsgay, an energetic 54-year old and member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo since May, who had only two votes against with three abstentions. The state minister's first task will be to maintain the government's working ties with the National Assembly and its standing commissions, which are increasingly demanding on ministries, departments, and the Council of Ministers as a whole. I. Pozsgay will also be responsible for partnership ties between the government and social organizations and movements:

the Patriotic People's Front, the trade unions, the Hungarian Communist Youth League, the cooperative movement, and independent associations. He will undoubtedly be helped in this by his many years' experience of work as general secretary of the Patriotic People's Front National Council, which established contact with various public circles.

In an interview after his election I. Pozsgay recalled that both civic maturity and parliamentary democracy are going through a period of apprenticeship in Hungary right now. Legislative acts on independent associations and social organizations, meetings and demonstrations, and further improvement of the electoral law will help to cut this period to the minimum.

For fairness' sake, it should be noted that some traditional parliamentary "freedoms" were shown in the National Assembly's work before. The only people always in the session presidium on the dais were the chairman and two secretaries: the tellers. Party and government leaders sat in the front rows of the deputies. For many years now, their appearance in the hall was greeted not with applause but with friendly handshakes, and there was always every opportunity for unofficial contact with them before the session began and in the recesses. Naturally, that will continue.

The sessions of deputies commissions have proceeded and do proceed in a relaxed atmosphere of free and critical exchange of opinion. During ministers' replies to deputies' inquiries, it could happen that the State Assembly deems an answer unsatisfactory, that the question be referred to a standing commission for examination and then be reported on again to parliament.

And yet, as jurist I. Kukorelli, who devoted a candidate dissertation to this topic, has calculated, only three instances of this occurred from 1949 through 1985. During this period, less than 4 percent of deputies submitted amendments to draft laws. The situation began to change only after 1985, when the overwhelming majority of deputies (save for those on the national list) got to parliament after defeating one or two rivals at elections.

...The deputies have dispersed, the chamber has been deserted, and maintenance work has begun in it. It has been decided to equip the chamber with an electronic voting system without violating its artistic integrity. A competition has been announced to find the enterprise that can carry out the parliament's order most quickly and cheaply and to the highest standard. The supreme organ of state power must set an example of cost-conscious management, its chairman quite rightly thinks.

'Important' Hungarian Goods Piling Up in Zahony

PM1907140388 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Jul 88 p 3

[Report based on reports by "our correspondents" N. Yugov and Ye. Piskunov: "Congestion at the Border"]

[Text] Hungarian newspapers have reported that a critical situation has been created at Zahony: Thousands of goods cars containing freight intended for the Soviet Union have piled up here. The goods include expensive industrial equipment and rolling stock containing wheat, meat, and fruit, and other foodstuffs.

Our own correspondent in Budapest, N. Yugov, asked A. Meszaros, deputy general director of the Hungarian Railroads Management, to comment on this fact. Here is what he said:

"In Zahony now there are 5,125 cars containing important and urgent freight for the Soviet Union. So far we cannot transfer them to Chop station because our Soviet partners are not accepting them. It was explained to us by the junction leaders that at present, Chop does not have enough of the cars essential for receiving freight from Hungary. There is also not enough manpower for unloading the goods in the Hungarian cars. The point is that the gage of railroads in the USSR is wider than in Hungary and that is why Hungarian goods are reloaded at the border onto cars of Soviet manufacture."

[Yugov] What steps do the Hungarian organs suggest to resolve the problem?

[Meszaros] At the end of last week, we had talks with the leaders of the Soviet Chop railroad station during which we discussed the prevailing situation comprehensively and carefully. We agreed to use every opportunity to accelerate the transfer of the cars to Chop station and then to ensure the rapid dispatch of the freight to its Soviet recipients. But it became clear to us during the talks that not everything depends on the Chop station workers. A number of organizational questions connected with the acceleration of the transfer of the cars from Hungary to the USSR and beyond must be resolved by the central organs of the USSR Ministry of Railroads....

[TRUD] Our correspondent Ye. Piskunov asked V.N. Butko, USSR deputy minister of railroads, to comment on the extraordinary situation which has taken shape at the Zahony-Chop border railroad junction.

[Butko] I think that it would be wrong to put all the blame on the railroad workers. Judge for yourself: Because of the fact that contracts were not concluded promptly between our two countries' foreign trade organizations, back at the end of the first 6 months of the year the railroad junction in Chop was still lagging a

whole 15 days behind the agreed shipments schedule in terms of the volume of shipments between the USSR and Hungary! People and capacities were standing idle.

And naturally the results of this lack of coordination have been grave. A race began: In the first weeks of July, the volume of shipments has increased at such a pace that it has greatly exceeded the transport center's potential. The protocol on bilateral shipments concluded for a year and later broken down into quarters did not presuppose such a lack of rhythm. There were not enough cars or people.

Additional rolling stock is now being rapidly transferred to Chop. It is reported from there that despite the heat the meat, fruit, and vegetables are in a satisfactory state, and refrigeration procedures are being observed. All the teams working on unloading have been instructed to dispatch perishable freight first and as rapidly as possible.

The USSR Ministry of Railroads has sent specialists to Chop to coordinate the actions of railroad workers at this transport junction. M.N. Grafskiy, chief of the Lvov railroad, has gone there urgently. We plan to relieve the situation within 5-6 days.

Hungary's Straub Thanks Soviets for Message

PM1907153788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[Message of thanks to USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium from Hungary's Presidential Council President Straub]

[Text] To the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Esteemed comrades,

Accept my heartfelt thanks for the congratulations and good wishes on my election as president of the Hungarian People's Republic Presidential Council.

I will serve with all my energy the cause of the prosperity and flourishing of the people of the Hungarian People's Republic, the further strengthening of the traditional fraternal friendship between the Hungarian and Soviet peoples, and the deepening of cooperation between our countries for the benefit of peace and socialism.

With comradely greetings,

Bruno F. Straub, president of the Hungarian People's Republic Presidential Council

Lizichev Receives Hungarian Delegation

PM1907122588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Meeting With Friends"]

[Text] A delegation of Hungarian political workers headed by Major General E. Szabo, chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Directorate and deputy chief of the Political Main Directorate of the Hungarian People's Army, was in the Soviet Union on 12 through 15 July.

The Hungarian political workers were received by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. The guests were informed of the results of the work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference which took important political decisions ensuring the intensification and irreversibility of restructuring in all spheres of Soviet society's life. Lieutenant General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, was present at the talk.

The Hungarian delegation also had talks at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate's Propaganda and Agitation Directorate and visited the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy.

Yazov Receives Mitkov-Led Bulgarian Group

LD1907143388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Army General Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, today received Bulgarian political workers headed by Colonel General Mitkov, head of the Political Main Administration of the Republic's People's Army. The delegation arrived in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Political Main Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, the head of which, Army General Lizichev, also took part in the meeting.

West Europe

Mitterrand Backs Eurosummit on Conventional Arms

PM1807150988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko report: "F. Mitterrand in Favor of Conventional Arms Cuts"]

[Text] Paris—French President F. Mitterrand has said that he is prepared to approve everything M.S. Gorbachev proposes to achieve a balance of conventional weapons in Europe.

He stressed that support should be given to the initiative of the Soviet leader, who, during his visit to Poland, proposed a meeting of European heads of state to discuss these issues.

During an interview with French television's Channel 1 to mark the 14 July national day—Bastille Day—the president again noted that "priority must be given to conventional arms cuts in Europe."

The head of state pointed out that in order to reduce tension, a balance of conventional arms must be achieved in central Europe between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. "I shall approve of everything Gorbachev proposes in this direction. I will not accept anything that does not lead in precisely this direction but only to interminable, unproductive discussions," F. Mitterrand said.

The president went on to say that M.S. Gorbachev's initiative concerning conventional arms must be promoted, because for the first time since the end of World War II we have begun to disarm rather than arm excessively.

"It is France's duty to contribute to this process," the head of state emphasized in conclusion. He also expressed the hope that regular meetings with the Soviet leader would continue.

Commenting on the president's statements, AFP noted that F. Mitterrand's positive appraisal of M.S. Gorbachev's latest initiatives stands in sharp contrast to the mistrust and skepticism displayed by NATO, where the proposal to convene an all-European summit meeting has been seen as an attempt to "tear" Europe away from the United States.

Bastille Day Greetings Sent to Mitterrand

PM1607152988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet message to President Mitterrand on Bastille Day]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic.

On behalf of the Soviet people, we convey to you, Mr President, and to the French people warm congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of your national holiday, Bastille Day.

We are convinced that the further development of dialogue at all levels and collaboration between the Soviet Union and France meet the interests of the two countries' peoples, will be of benefit in terms of the improvement of the international climate and of real and balanced disarmament, and will contribute to strengthening trust and security in Europe and beyond.

[signed] USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Embassy Holds Reception

PM1607120788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 14 July Y. Pagniez, French ambassador to the Soviet Union, held a reception to mark the French national holiday, Bastille Day.

The reception was attended by V.S. Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

French Communist Mayors Visit, Confer

PM1807141788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ties Expanding"]

[Text] A delegation of Communist mayors headed by J. Rimbault, member of the French Communist Party [PCF] Central Committee, deputy of the National Assembly, and mayor of the city of Bourges, visited the Soviet Union 5 through 12 July to develop ties and cooperation between the CPSU and the PCF.

The French mayors familiarized themselves with the Soviets' experience of operating under conditions of restructuring and with the main directions of the reform of the Soviet political system.

Talks were held at the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda and International Departments, during which the French Communists were familiarized with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference.

The delegation made a trip to the Estonian SSR, where it had meetings and talks at the Tallinn and Tartu city soviets, visited a kolkhoz, and familiarized itself with the progress of restructuring in the republic.

Maltese Communist Party Opens 4th Congress

PM1607143188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Communist Party of Malta Congress"]

[Excerpts] Valletta, 15 Jul—The Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Malta [CPM] opened here today in the capital of this small island state in the Mediterranean. Its agenda includes a report by CPM Secretary General Anthony Vassalo, the ratification of amendments to the party statutes and program, and elections to the CPM Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Delivering the report, A. Vassalo noted that Maltese Communists are following with great attention and interest the important processes taking place in the world communist movement, which is on the threshold of a new stage in its development. [passage omitted]

Maltese Communists, advocating the strengthening in every possible way of Malta's status as a neutral nonaligned state, are at the same time active participants in the movement to demilitarize the Mediterranean and turn it into a nuclear-free zone and a region of fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation in the interests of peace.

Talking about the CPM's tasks linked with resolution of the country's domestic problems, the speaker pointed out that Communists must above all strive to enhance the party's role in Malta's political, economic, and social life. It is with this in mind, he pointed out, that the amendments to the party statutes and program, which will be discussed by the congress, have been drawn up. The CPM's tactical line, the secretary general noted, is aimed at strengthening cooperation with all left-wing and progressive forces in the interests of working people and the broad people's masses.

CPSU Sends Greetings

PM1607141388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message "To the Fourth Communist Party of Malta Congress"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

On behalf of Soviet Communists we fraternally greet you—representatives of Malta's working people gathered for the Fourth Communist Party of Malta [CPM] Congress—and wish you successes in your work.

Your small country, at the intersection of continents and the border between the industrial north and the developing south, plays a special role in the important world region that is the Mediterranean. Your status as a neutral and nonaligned state, freely chosen by Malta and recognized by the international community, determines your country's peace-loving foreign policy, which is supported and defended by Maltese Communists. This course, backed by the CPM, accords with the needs and aspirations of the Maltese people and helps to reinforce your Republic's political and economic independence.

The CPSU will continue to follow a line of developing friendship and solidarity between the CPSU and the CPM and between the Soviet and Maltese peoples.

We wish you, comrades, successes in strengthening party ranks, enhancing the party's prestige and influence in Maltese society, and rallying people to struggle for working people's vital interests!

[signed] CPSU Central Committee

Congress Ends Work 18 Jul

PM1907164388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Maltese Communists' Forum"]

[Text] Valletta, 18 Jul—The Fourth Communist Party of Malta [CPM] Congress ended here today. The final day was devoted to a discussion of questions linked with streamlining the holding of CPM Central Committee plenums and strengthening control over the fulfillment of the decisions taken at them. In the delegates' opinion the decisions taken by the congress in this connection should promote the strengthening of intraparty democracy.

"This CPM Congress has been held at a very interesting and important period," CPM Secretary General Anthony Vassalo stated in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. "We were all impressed by the recent 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which has been a major historic event for the international communist movement and the entire world. The discussion launched at the recent congress was held in the light of the results of the conference. Not for nothing are Maltese Communists now asking questions linked with the need to make changes to the CPM statutes. These changes were unanimously adopted, which—it seems to us—will promote the attraction of new members to the CPM ranks."

"Malta's Communists," A. Vassalo went on to say, "are convinced and active participants in the antiwar movement. We are striving to turn the Mediterranean into a zone free of nuclear weapons and an area of international cooperation. That is why in the congress resolutions we pointed out our profound concern about the position in the Near East. The CPM advocates the immediate cessation of the Iran-Iraq conflict. We cannot fail to be concerned about the prospect that U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers will be redeployed from Spain to Italy, which will undoubtedly draw attention to the tension in the region. Malta's Communists wholly support the peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union in order to promote the easing of tension worldwide and in the Mediterranean. They believe that the positive results already achieved in East-West relations will continue to promote a warming of the international climate."

Vasiliou, Denktas Cited on Cyprus Issue

PM1807173988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[V. Potapov article: "Cypriots' Hopes. On the Eve of the Renewal of Dialogue"]

[Text] Nicosia, Jul—It is not for nothing that Cyprus is called one of the region's "sore spots." The island republic has been independent for less than 30 years, but many severe tests have fallen to the lot of the Cypriots. It is 14 years this summer since Cyprus was divided into two parts. The northern regions, which were taken by

force, remain under foreign (Turkish) occupation. Talks have not been held between the islanders of Greek and Turkish origin since January 1985.

Cypriot President Yeoryios Vasiliou noted in conversation with Soviet correspondents that the present growing interest in the Cyprus problem is dictated by changes in the political climate. "The dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States," he said, "has opened the way for this. It is having a positive influence not only on the world as a whole but also on the process of a settlement of the Cyprus problem. The new international situation has assisted in developing the Greek-Turkish dialogue. All this is once again moving the Cyprus question to the fore." Y. Vasiliou particularly stressed the positive role which the Soviet Union is playing in the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem.

Referring to the Republic government's viewpoint, Y. Vasiliou said that the main question is that of the continued occupation of part of the island's territory. As is known, the country's government has repeatedly confirmed its desire for a just settlement of the conflict within the framework and on the basis of the UN resolutions, with a view to creating an independent, unified, territorially integral, federative, nonaligned, and demilitarized Cyprus. "The solution of the problem's international aspect, which is essentially the removal of the foreign presence, the return of Turkish settlers from the mainland, and the establishment of international guarantees, could be reached within the framework of an international conference," Y. Vasiliou continued. "We welcome the USSR proposals (of 21 January 1986.—V.P.) precisely for this reason. The domestic aspect of the Cyprus problem can be resolved during the dialogue with Mr Denktas."

...In order to meet with Rauf Denktas, the leader of the Turkish-Cypriot community, I had to cross into the northern part of Nicosia, passing the so-called "green line."

More than 4 years ago the island's northern territories, which are under foreign occupation, were illegally declared an "independent state."

This separatist act was not recognized by the world community (with the exception of Turkey) but it seriously complicated the situation on the island and the prospects for a settlement of the protracted conflict. The seeds of distrust and suspicion sown on the island in the past by the colonialists have sprouted. Much patience and goodwill on both sides will be required to get rid of these weeds.

We felt this during the conversation with R. Denktas. Setting out his viewpoint on the Cyprus settlement process, he stated that he does not divide the question into international and domestic aspects. He virtually made accepting the idea of an international conference conditional to the prior act of recognition of the "independent state" in the north of the island. R. Denktas presented his vision of a future Cyprus as a kind of "bizonal federative republic" whose guarantor-countries—Turkey and Greece—would maintain fixed [opredelennyy] military contingents in each of the "zones" as real "evidence" of their guarantees. The head of the Turkish-Cypriot community stated that it supports the nonaligned status of the future Cyprus, and on the whole advocates the solution of international disputes by means of talks within the UN framework. He also favored the world's moving in a direction which would preclude the need for foreign states to have military bases on foreign territories.

Aganbegyan Ends Portugal Visit, Urges Trade

LD1307043988 Lisbon International Service in Portuguese 1800 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Soviet economist Abel Aganbegyan, who today ended a 1-week visit to our country, said that it is possible to double or triple the present volume of trade between Portugal and the USSR. He added that it is necessary to find new forms of cooperation such as mixed companies both in the respective countries and in third countries.

During his stay in Portugal, Abel Aganbegyan met political officials and Portuguese businessmen who have trade ties with the USSR.

Murakhovskiy Receives Swedish Industrialist

PM1607121588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 14 July V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, received L. Jansson, general director of the Swedish firm "Tetrapak."

They talked about a number of issues relating to trade and economic cooperation. Satisfaction was expressed in connection with the signing of constituent documents on the establishment of a joint Soviet-Swedish-Brazilian enterprise in Lipetsk Oblast which will manufacture various fruit and vegetable juices. The meeting devoted special attention to the organization of new joint enterprises manufacturing wrapping and packaging materials and production lines for bottling and packaging drinks.

Briefs

TASS-ANATOLIA Agreement

Moscow July 14 TASS—An agreement on establishing cooperation in the sphere of exchanging information between the telegraph agency of the Soviet Union and the ANATOLIA NEWS AGENCY of the Turkish Republic was signed here today. The agreement was signed by Director

General Sergey Losev, on behalf of TASS, and Director General Husamettin Celebi, on behalf of the ANATOLIA agency. [Text] [*LD1507022688 Moscow TASS in English 1006 GMT 14 Jul 88*]

TASS, EFE Sign Protocol

Moscow July 11 TASS—The news agency of the Soviet Union, TASS, and the Spanish news agency, EFE, signed a protocol in Moscow today providing for further developing professional cooperation. The protocol was signed by TASS Director-General Sergey Losev and EFE President and Director-General Alfonso S. Palamares, who is currently staying in the USSR at the invitation of TASS. [Text] [*LD1407052988 Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT 11 Jul 88*]

Latin America & Caribbean

Government Greetings to Nicaraguan Leadership

PM1907131988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers greetings message under the headline "To the National Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and to Comrade Daniel Ortega Saavedra, president of the Republic of Nicaragua"]

[Text] To the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and to comrade Daniel Ortega Saavedra, president of the Republic of Nicaragua, on the occasion of the republic's holiday, the anniversary of the victory of the Sandinista popular revolution.

We send you, and all the friendly Nicaraguan people, our warm and cordial greetings. Nine years ago the people of Nicaragua cast off the yoke of the reactionary dictatorship of the Somoza clan and set off on the path of national rebirth and progress as a result of an heroic struggle that took the lives of many of their best sons and daughters. They made their own original revolutionary choice to build a society of social equality, democracy, and justice based on the principles of political pluralism, a mixed economy, and nonalignment.

Significant success has been achieved in the past few years, but it could have been much greater had it not been for the actions of internal and external reaction. These forces are trying to turn back the development of the country and to force the Government of Nicaragua to divert significant resources from peaceful construction and the solution of tasks of raising the people's well-being to the defense of their motherland and of the gains of the revolution.

Nicaragua's constructive efforts for a political settlement of the Central American conflict and its consistent fulfillment of the tenets of the Guatemala Agreement have gained high appreciation from the world public. The policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the Nicaraguan Government, which is aimed at producing the conditions for creative labor for the Nicaraguan people, is clear confirmation of a desire for peace.

We note with satisfaction the forward movement of Soviet-Nicaraguan relations based on the principles of mutual respect, equality, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. The USSR comes out in favor of diverse cooperation with Nicaragua, and will go on strengthening the ties of friendship, giving firm support to its people who are fighting for freedom, independent development, and peace.

We wish you, and all the friendly Nicaraguan people, success in your struggle for your motherland's independence, peace, and prosperity.

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers

Castro Addresses Cuban Communist Party Plenum

PM1907140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Havana, 17 Jul—The Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee plenum, which took place under the leadership of Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and president of the republic's Councils of State and Ministers, has ended its work here. Delegates heard and approved a report from the National Control and Auditing Commission, discussed the results of the zafra (the sugar cane harvest season), questions of monitoring accounting and cost, and the state of affairs with urban motorized transport, and noted the successes attained by the working people in the textile industry.

Jose Ramon Fernandez, candidate member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo, vice president of the Council of Ministers, and minister of education, reported to the plenum on the course of the process of rectifying mistakes and eliminating negative trends in the country's education system.

The plenum participants discussed in detail the report by Minister of Justice Juan Escalona on the state of affairs in the country after the entry into force of the new criminal code. The minister pointed out that the adoption of the new code of laws had yielded positive results and enabled the authorities to concentrate their efforts on an uncompromising struggle against crime.

F. Castro spoke on practically all the questions under discussion. In particular, he stressed that it is very important for the country to obtain more than 8 million tonnes of sugar—Cuba's main export crop—in the next

zafra. In the present economic situation, he continued, we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of not obtaining revenue in those areas where it can be obtained.

The Cuban leader advocated the comprehensive study of the spheres into which state funds are channeled. The question of capital investments, he stated, must be resolved at national leadership level on the basis of objective data, which enable us to determine their maximum expediency.

F. Castro briefed delegates in detail on the state of affairs in the south of Angola and on the current state of the talks involving Cuba, Angola, the United States, and the RSA.

Political & Social

Further on Supreme Soviet Session on NKAO

Gorbachev Speaks at Session

LD1907231988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1917 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Speech by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at 18 July session of USSR Supreme Soviet—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, we must be extraordinarily attentive and responsible, responsible to the highest degree, in examining the question that has been submitted for examination by the current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The point at issue revolves around a matter of great political significance, a matter of vital importance for our state, which is inhabited by many nationalities. This matter impinges upon a very sensitive area of human relations—relations among the country's nations and ethnic groups. It is a problem of a national scope, since everything that takes place in various parts of our state closely concerns us all and and all of us are vitally interested in having the biggest and most complex matters tackled in a calm and thorough manner, in our common interests.

It should be added to all this that we are dealing with a problem whose roots reach far into past decades. All in all, comrades, whatever way we approach and look at what we are discussing today, it is a matter of paramount importance and paramount complexity, although, generally speaking, if one is to take another glance at it, it is also simple.

However, very firm and courageous steps and, what is most important, steps to meet each other halfway are at times necessary in order to arrive at this simple solution.

I would say that today's session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is a very important point within our process of restructuring. More than that: I would describe this session as historic.

For if you and I do not find the key to solve this question today—and we must find it—it will have far-reaching consequences and will have an effect on the entire process of restructuring.

We cannot resolve a single issue, a single problem, in our country without taking into consideration the national interests of large and small ethnic groups. We cannot ignore the interests of even the smallest nation or the smallest ethnic group. And this is correct. This comes from Lenin's concept of nationalities policy. This is how we have acted and we have done a great deal. And if our state has been able to solve historic tasks, if backward Russia, the former prison of the peoples, has become a modern power, mighty in all aspects—not only economically but also politically, militarily, intellectually, and [illegible]—then this was all been possible as a result of an [illegible] of efforts of all nations and ethnic groups.

[illegible] made use of this concept of Lenin, his [illegible] accept, this dominant reference point for resolving the [illegible] question, then you and I, comrades, would have nothing like this today. We must bear this in mind under an circumstances and while seeing that a great number of problems have accumulated here. If so far we have fully coped with the most severe tests, including the Great Patriotic War from which we emerged as victors, it has only been due to the fact that we were together, felt that we were standing shoulder to shoulder. And after the war, when it was necessary to rebuild entire enormous republics, we were also always together in our mutual understanding and aid.

Therefore, comrades, it is a question of the greatest importance and our session, I repeat, is an historic one. We must find an answer to this question today that will serve as a precedent for how we should resolve problems that have arisen, including those of relations among nationalities, at the stage of restructuring.

Everyone has begun by analyzing the causes of this phenomenon because, indeed, it is not sufficient to study only the consequences of what happened. In order to draw lessons, the causes must, of course, be known. In this connection certain excesses have been pointed out in the activity of state organs at the initial stage of forming our union state.

Various points of view on this matter have been expressed. They exist and they are known to us. But still, comrades, we shall not linger for long at this point of our reflections although it is worth making the point that probably not everything has been solved in an ideal way. But all this did take place, and we have gone through 70—65 years?—since 1923—65 years. We have to say today that both Armenia and Azerbaijan stand before us as developed republics with an immense potential—economic, cultural, and intellectual potential, educated peoples. Compare them with their neighbors on their border. These are incomparable, so to speak, things.

This shows that at that time, on the main things, the correct decisions were made even though they may not have been the ideal ones. So I would ask all comrades to bear this in mind when we give our verdict as to how it was decided. I look to the scholars: it is very necessary to be responsible because, you know, it is so easy to utter or to defend a decision. If it had been so wrongful and so bad from the beginning, surely we would not have had such results? No, we would not!

I think that when we talk about the reasons for what happened and what set the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples—and all of our country—in motion, we have to

say that these were not just bursts from machine-guns but complete artillery salvoes from the past. These were serious, major omissions in the sphere of domestic policy, including in such an important area as the nationalities policy. One should not consider any issue to be solved once and for all. Each issue has its own dynamism, its own development, and as far as the nationalities question is concerned, you can see how everything has changed.

Firstly, 90 percent of the people living today were born under soviet power. This is a new phenomenon. These are educated peoples with each nation and ethnic group having its own intelligentsia, scientific forces, and artistic intelligentsia. The whole of this intelligentsia comes out as a custodian of the people's spirit, of each nation—this is splendid—the language of each people; this is also splendid! Splendid! If anyone thinks otherwise, or if anyone wants, as it were, to smooth things out, this is an erroneous path, and it must be rejected outright if anyone is thinking of doing so.

No, it is possible for nations to come closer and flourish... [changes thought] The process of our peoples coming closer and of combining and uniting their efforts can only proceed upon the foundation of each people, each culture flourishing further, of the development of each language. It is our wealth and not a liability. It is our wealth.

Now that a new generation is entering life, ranks of intelligentsia have grown up. They study their history: the origin of this people, the origin of its language, what interrelations it had in the past, what it is like at present, and what the future looks like. All these are living processes, the most vital processes of our contemporary life.

In connection with this, can it indeed be said that all this could have been left just like that, that these major questions could be left to drift? But this is what did happen, to a significant extent. And, as far as Nagorno-Karabakh is concerned, the roots are to be found therein. If you add to this the fact that people who, from the internationalist, political, and moral viewpoints turned out not to be up to the task were to be found among the leadership of this or that region—and I am here talking not just of Karabakh alone. After all this is not a unique phenomenon; it assumed acute dimensions but it also gives us cause to reflect upon this as a whole. Well, all this now, these shots—so to speak—from those years, you know, when we were inattentive... [changes thought] all the same, and at some point we were late, very late, and this is now letting its presence be felt. That is why this problem did not arise in a vacuum. This must be seen, and this we sensed, and this was reflected in the decision that has been adopted, about which I will have something to say yet.

So, the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is linked with certain violations, rather serious violations on the part of the leading bodies of Azerbaijan. And comrades admit this self-critically and understand it correctly, and I value the very staunch, internationalist stance of Comrade Vezirov and other comrades, who do not let themselves fall prey to emotions. Comrade Ibragimov was correct when he said that if we wish to punish a person, it is necessary to deprive him of reason. So, well, you know, if we want to suffer defeat as far as this issue is concerned, this is how we must continue. But who needs this? I will speak about this yet. It must be removed: all these causes must be removed. The instructions of the Central Committee and the government on this score must be implemented. They encompass the entire complex of the social, economic, cultural, and national development of Nagorno-Karabakh. And this kind of negative attitude toward this document is incomprehensible to us; it is incomprehensible to us. More than that, it is being concealed from the working people. And more than that, obstacles are being placed in the way of implementing it. This is unacceptable to us and we condemn such an attitude.

But, comrades, analyzing the causes of what is taking place, it seems that we should also see another thing: Both in Azerbaijan and Armenia, beyond the confines of Nagorno-Karabakh, as it were, quite a number of acute problems have accumulated, and they have long since worried the working people of both republics. All these serious shortcomings in the economic and social development, including the exacerbated ecological issues, the major slip-ups in the cadre policy, the neglect of the ideological sphere, the weakening of internationalist education, serious violations of the principles of socialist morality have all accumulated. This manifested itself in many things: it manifested itself in many things. Abuses have been allowed to take place in the republics; protectionism, bribe-taking, and a shadow economy are flourishing. Restructuring exposed all that.

And we have seen how restructuring turned out as unacceptable in these republics. Certain clans took shape there you know and they would like to hold all the main spheres in their hands. But restructuring requires something else. It brings to the arena of political activities working people as the chief dramatis personae. And here you are, a convenient pretext to seize on Nagorno-Karabakh—for both sides, incidentally—and to throw in the national sentiment, to spur it on until it takes on this nationalist form, in order to conceal really difficult issues and problems that have been accumulated and that cry out for solution. We have had a conversation about it with the former leaders of the republics as well as a conversation in public at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central committee.

So, you can see how it has all become entangled here and there is no need to simplify it. So, I am ending this digression by stating my profound conviction that the fundamental nature of this problem, the complexity,

importance, subtlety, sensitivity of this problem call for a very responsible, respectable attitude to each other. There is a shortage of that, comrades. We must say it to you, the representatives of both Azerbaijan and Armenia, there is a shortage of that, you must see that.

I will tell you that today's Presidium meeting saw more self-criticism on the part of the Azerbaijanis and less on the part of Armenia's representatives. Think it over. This is for us... [changes thought] We have looked into it, and there are things to reflect upon, in both republics: and there is food for profound reflection and lessons to be learned. If you also leave the present meeting after this conversation as well, without the desire stirring up among you to get to the bottom of everything and to think it over and to st .rt turning the events in a different direction now, that would be very sad.

I would even say that it would be serious, affecting... [changes thought] I am convinced that this discussion is not going to be without effect for all of us, comrades, including the Supreme Soviet Presidium—which includes representatives of every republic—and the central bodies, the authorities of the country, and the representatives of the two fraternal republics, Azerbaijan and Armenia. It is said that Lenin was never so great as in moments of danger. So I will tell you, dear friends, that the essence and significance of your position will not consist in your calculating today, like some comrades were saying here, how this will be heard in Yerevan, or some other region, in Baku, or so on. No, the essence consists in expressing today the fundamental interests, our fundamental interest, that of our union, and the fundamental interests of the two peoples. And they coincide, comrades, they coincide! They do!

I think that the center—and I am not saying this to present it in a good light—tried during these difficult months to keep to the main guiding line, Lenin's guiding line, to maintain respect for both peoples, do everything possible to prevent things from reaching the final limits in aggravating relations, to prevent any offense against someone, some people. All the time we acted in such a way as not to demolish what has been created, to retain it, and furthermore, to find, nevertheless, reasponable solutions in the interests of both people and in the interests of the whole union. And we adopted... [changes thought] More than once we sent comrades there, in order to see the situation realistically. That helped us to formulate proposals here, assessments and proposals, the decision, which I recalled. And that, too, is a wide-ranging and major decision.

And finally, and we succeeded in this, seeing when the situation began to get complicated and we were facing a hard trial and bloodshed, we brought in the troops and militia in order to keep the situation in check because we considered it to be our duty, the duty of the central government, the central authorities. And look how right we were. We were literally late by half-a-night—it was all done at night, after all—we were late by several hours and what tragic consequences that had in Sumgait!

This has not only cast a dark cloud over all our lives today, which is seized by great ideas and hopes, but it has affected all of us strongly. I think that we understand in a human way that a great misfortune has occurred, and it has disturbed all of the people.

But, nevertheless, this situation—it broke out at the airport in Yerevan—shows us every time that we must be very responsible, very responsible, we must not overlook things, you know, not overlook things. Not to mention that the situation in both republics must be changed and brought back to normal.

But, look, comrades, how even now passions are, to some extent getting out of control. There are slogans of an antisocialist nature, an anti-Soviet nature, and an anti-Russian nature. Weapons have now appeared in the hands of aggressive-minded militants. All in all we have to say at present that a threat has been created to the life and tranquility of the people of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Again, this threat is a real one again. And, at this time, some people are already putting out slogans, at least they were heard in Yerevan. Yes, and they incited the city session in Yerevan to adopt a decision on the withdrawal of the troops! These are our troops, this is our army, which, in the highest interest, are present now in order to rule out any unforeseen consequences, you know. These are our sons, our children. That is why the Supreme Soviet Presidium, having taken all this together, acted correctly, I think, when it proposed this issue, here, where so openly, bluntly, looking each other in the eye, we are discussing this question, a most important one for us and our state.

We must make the necessary decisions to halt such a dangerous development of events around Nagorno-Karabakh. What is peculiar about the situation, apart from what has already been said? The fact that two republics are approaching this problem and this situation from diametrically opposed positions. Even, I would say, from positions of an ultimatum. Incidentally, this was reflected in the discussions and in the documents that were adopted at the sessions of the republican Supreme Soviets, these decisions that mutually exclude one another, give no bases for agreement, for a harmonious solution, and, generally speaking, they lead us into deadlock.

But, still, despite the whole complexity and the contrasting positions of the sides, we must find a solution that would not harm either the Azerbaijani or the Armenian peoples, or the interests of all our Soviet people.

At the Presidium session here today the concern of all the fraternal republics at what is taking place in Armenia and Azerbaijan has been heard forcefully. As I understand it, comrades, everyone is concerned not only by the polemics, not only by the reciprocal accusations and insults—although in itself this is what poisons relations among nationalities and prevents the question from being considered and resolved—but we are all concerned by the fact that it is inflicting enormous damage upon our main cause, the cause of the restructuring and democratization of our society. I will tell you directly: We are passing through a testing period. Will restructuring endure such a situation?

Restructuring requires extremely great cohesion among the people, but what is offered is strife and national distrust. Restructuring requires democratization and glasnost, but under the flag of glasnost we see here shameless pressure upon labor collectives, upon the populations of the towns of republics on the part of irresponsible persons, and even pressure upon the organs of the authorities, including even upon the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Look at the methods being used—constant mass demonstrations and meetings and, finally, strikes.

In other words, we can see that the democratic rights and the new conditions that were opened up and created by restructuring are clearly being used for antidemocratic aims. Comrades, I think that this is unacceptable. This is unacceptable. No one needs it, and it serves no one's interests, if we are speaking of the interests of the peoples of our country. There are people who, despite the appeal of the 19th party conference, are continuing to act in an extremist fashion, who are urging people on and inciting them. Since the party conference the situation has even become more acute. All in all, we are facing a difficult choice at this Presidium session, but the choice must be made because we are dealing with the future of two peoples that are close and fraternal peoples through their history and their destiny.

For centuries Armenians and Azerbaijanis have lived together. They live together today, and I believe that it is unthinkable that it could be otherwise in the future. Neither we nor you, the representatives of the two peoples, think of living any other way but together, but if you are to live together then you must think about the future, both about today and about the future. We are responsible for the present but especially for the future. Either we live in peace and friendship having restored trust among people in every town and village, on every street and in every house, or, having forgotten all the good and sacred, for which many generations of the best sons and daughters of Azerbaijan and Armenia have given their lives, we sink into a turbid morass of strife and distrust. This will simply disturb the historical development of the two peoples, and it will have an effect on the overall situation in the country.

I would say this: If this were to happen, if this were to take place—because I do not think that it will be like this, I am convinced that it will change for the better—but if this suddenly happened, history would never forgive us and people would never forgive us, some because they incited them so irresponsibly with their incorrect words and slogans and talk, and others because they did not stop them, did not take them in hand, did not use their authority. They would not forgive us, neither the Azerbaijanis nor the Armenians nor all the Soviet peoples. Our party is internationalist, our revolution is internationalist, our country is internationalist. And we must strive to have all families in this home live amicably irrespective of their nationality.

In this connection I want to say this: In the discussion that has already been under way for many months, and I should say in the discussion that has taken place and is taking place at our present session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the aspiration can be clearly seen on both sides to score a victory, to score a victory at any cost, and to return to one's own republic, to one's own land, as the victor. Armenia is striving for the incorporation of Nagorno-Karabakh into Armenia. The Azerbaijanis not only will not allow the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to be handed over, but will not yield even a millimeter in anything. I am telling you this while looking you in the eye. This is the impression, the conviction I have formed. I must tell you, dear friends, that this is a profound error on both sides, both sides.

A victory in this issue can only be joint, only joint. A different approach would lead us into a political blind alley, further exacerbation of the situation, heating of passions, mounting animosity, and such a turn of events would cancel everything that has been created by many generations. It would poison the peoples' awareness with a nationalist intoxication and thus would spoil relations between them for many years to come, comrades. So, is this what they are after in Azerbaijan and Armenia?

We can see that there are people who actually want it and seek it. They have gotten carried away with a wild and inhuman idea. It has reached us, and the idea is this: Let hundreds, even perhaps thousands of people die if that would considerably strengthen the spirit of the nations. That is political paranoia and an absolute lack of responsibility, inhumanity. These people are adventurers who must be called exactly that, and by name at that.

Now, can such a thing occur to a normal person? Let alone, to a person who is responsible to his people, to other peoples, to a person entrusted with certain powers. We must proceed from the interests of the millions of working people of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Don't we see now, as we talk with the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan, how both the former and the latter are deeply involved emotionally in what is going on? And that they want everything to end well in the shortest possible time?

But, at the same time, there are so many people who, where the human soul begins to stir, finally realize that further steps along that path would be simply ruinous. And there are people who are trying to extinguish this stirring of the soul by crying out that this is a betrayal when someone wants to raise his voice in defense of the idea: Let us stop and think about what we are doing and where we are going.

I have to say that in the country as a whole, and in the other republics, in both Azerbaijan and Armenia, people are expecting from us decisive action in order to block the way to a further negative development of events in Nagorno-Karabakh, and in Armenia and Azerbaijan. We understand their aspirations. They include the simple wisdom of the people. This should be the guideline when we adopt a decision on the issue under discussion in the present session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. At this hour we have been thinking together, reflecting, and asking each other questions in order to explain the situation, to assess it in a correct way, and to find approaches to a way out of this—bluntly speaking—deadlock that has been created.

It seems to me that if we detach ourselves from the emotions and the anguish that have been heard here from one side and the other—and the reproaches—that there is now an understanding, a common opinion among us. It is being put together, it is taking shape at this session, that, proceeding from the fundamental interests of the two peoples and the interests of all Soviet people, first and foremost we must reaffirm the existing realities, including the adherence of Nagorno-Karabakh to the Azerbaijan SSR. This is the first part of what must be understood; in my opinion it is becoming clear to us, comrades, to everyone. At the same time, proposals have been expressed here concerning strengthening of guarantees to the people of Nagorno-Karabakh that there will be no repetition of what has led to the present situation, because there have been many promises in the past and in many cases they turned out to be empty, empty promises. Moreover, they turned out in effect to be a deception with regard to the people of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Here we have reached the theme of compromises, which, in a sense, has already been heard here. I would not like to list everything that has been said here, but many ideas were expressed. I think that we, that our decision that has been handed down and with which the members of the Presidium and the representatives of the republics are familiar, should probably be supplemented with a provision that would more fully take into consideration the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and assert the confidence of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh that life is going to go on changing for the better, and that guarantees of normal development are assured, since Nagorno-Karabakh's affiliation to Azerbaijan is confirmed on the basis of the Constitution.

Evidently, time will be needed to resolve the issues, to resolve what has been envisioned and planned by the very important decision of the Central Committee and the government on the development of Nagorno-Karabakh. It will also take time for the normalization of relations, for bringing efforts together, because even the working, human contacts have been lost. There is a need for some group from the center, perhaps a representative of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, or perhaps at the same time representatives of the government, perhaps even from the Central Committee. Let's have three people present who would together help to organize cooperation between the two republics in order to implement this decision. After all, it is very wide-ranging; it takes the whole situation in Nagorno-Karabakh to a completely different level of development.

Apart from that, a great many other proposals were made here, relating, in a sense, to the other aspect of the problem, to the oblast's status, to its powers, to other possibilities. Evidently this, too, is a question that should not be swept aside and evidently these issues also need to be worked out. We have been consulting and have invited leaders of the republic. Perhaps in our decision, as well as that which I described in the first part, we should add an item about forming within the Soviet of Nationalities a group or commission, which would examine and study all these proposals that were expressed here. Then, in the course of this work within the Soviet of Nationalities, some other, different proposals will be made and thus study the problem. This is especially so as we are proceeding toward a political reform, which involves changes, extending the rights of the union republics, extending their rights and responsibilities and powers, extending the rights and status of the autonomous republics. Within the study of this whole question we should reach some solutions, some proposals, which again would strengthen the guarantees that were discussed here. I think that if we thus supplement our decision, that, in a sense, would make it into a document, on the basis of which a wide process of normalization can be developed.

We call on all the citizens of Azerbaijan and Armenia to manifest maturity and genuine patriotism, and to make the maximum efforts for normalizing the situation and set good relations going between the people. Of course, the events around Nagorno-Karabakh have already left a deep impression on the relations between the two peoples and time will be necessary for these relations to become genuinely fraternal again. But we have to act, we have to meet each other halfway, being guided by superior interests. And here we cannot even contemplate any notion of isolating the Armenian population of Azerbaijan from Armenia in the field of culture, education, learning, information, and spiritual values as a whole.

Equally, the Azerbaijanis living in Armenia should be given the same attention. That is the real way, comrades, just as in all the republics. We must be guided by life. This a sacred duty of the party and of the local soviets of both republics, not only to their own peoples but to all the peoples of our country.

I think that the time has come for responsible actions, and we hope that the Communists will set an example of high responsibility. We hope that they will be supported by war veterans, by labor veterans who side by side have covered the harsh roads of trials and battles. They must be supported by young people, for it must not be allowed that what is taking place now should cloud their future forever. And, after all, if this remains in the minds of the young people, this will mean that to a certain extent such a course will already be programmed in the situation and in the future development of the situation.

Representatives of the intelligentsia whose words are listened to by the people also must make their contribution to this progress of improvement. I think that the majority of honest, thinking people both from Azerbaijan and Armenia understand the correctness of such a way of putting the question, comrades.

We realize that there are people who, under the influence of emotions that have accumulated in the past 6 months, will try to continue the course toward confrontation, to inflame passions, to apply pressure on the population.

Who are these people? The development of events, the methods of organizing disturbances, the attempts to keep the people in constant tension, generally speaking, reveals both their moral and political face ever more clearly. Hiding behind the so-called Karabakh question are the opponents of perestroyka, conservative and corrupt elements, who have lined their pockets during the period of stagnation.

We also must see and understand this, comrades. It is advantageous to them to switch away, divert attention from themselves by imaginary concern about the fate of Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. We know this, we see this, and we will not fail to keep this in our field of vision. It is precisely against, and solely against, such elements that the force of Soviet laws must be aimed.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision, which will be adopted, must, of course, be strictly implemented. We think that it will meet with the support of our people, of the entire Soviet people, and we are firmly counting on the good sense, experience and wisdom of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and of all the working people of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

For its part, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the government are doing everything in order for the normalization of the situation to continuously and successfully proceed. Let us go away from this meeting convinced that we have arrived at the right conclusion, the only right decision, and convinced of the need to act in the way we are coming to agree upon today. [applause]

PRAVDA Reports Proceedings

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[TASS report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place 18 July in the Kremlin.

The Presidium examined the question of the decisions of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets on Nagorno-Karabakh.

The session was opened by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

There is one question on the agenda, he said: The question of the decisions of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets on Nagorno-Karabakh. This question is not a new one for us. As is well known, it was discussed at the 23 March session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. At that time measures were outlined aimed at stabilizing the situation while observing the demands of the Constitution and Soviet legislation and at improving masss political and educational work among the population in the spirit of Leninist nationalities policy principles. The CPSU Central Committee and the government elaborated and are implementing measures to radically resolve urgent problems concerning economic and sociocultural development in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

However, following this the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh has continued to heat up. The recent sessions of the Armenian and Azerbaijan supreme organs of power were a kind of landmark emphasizing these republics' positions.

At a 15 June 1988 session the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on Nagorno-Karabakh with which all of us are familiar. The Azerbaijan SSR examined this question 17 June and deemed that decision unacceptable. This situation requires of us a profound understanding of the whole complexity of the situation and the ability to rise above emotions and various kinds of grievances for the sake of the supreme interests of the Soviet people.

The quest for a correct solution must be conducted within the framework of the USSR Constitution, socialist values, and mutual respect for the opinions, traditions, and national dignity of each of the peoples. This is our axiom.

G.M. Voskanyan, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered a report at the session.

We are displaying a highly responsible attitude to the question being discussed here today, a question that affects the interests not only of the Armenian and Azerbaijan peoples but also all Soviet peoples, he said. The critical tense situation that has taken shape in our region in connection with the problem of the NKAO compels us to profoundly and comprehensively investigate the sources of the origin of the problem and to seek ways for a just solution, proceeding on the basis of the principle of free self-determination for the nation. Our responsibility is high since people will judge the effectiveness of the process of revolutionary restructuring and democratization of society now under way in the country by the way in which the problem is resolved.

You are familiar with the history of the question. The day after the establishment of Soviet power in Armenia, the Azerbaijan revolutionary committee by a decree of 1 December 1920 deemed Nagorno-Karabakh, Nakhichevan, and Zangezur an inalienable part of Soviet Armenia. This act was an expression of a truly international approach, expressed the essence of the young Soviet state's nationalities policy, and was received by the working people with great enthusiasm. The Azerbaijan revolutionary committee decree was welcomed by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, Kirov, and Ordzhonikidze. However, I must be blunt and say that under pressure from nationalistically minded people the leadership of Azerbaijan soon raised with the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee Caucasian Bureau the question of revising its own decision deeming Nagorno-Karabakh an inalienable part of Soviet Armenia, justifying this by the threat of an inevitable galvanization of anti-Soviet forces in Azerbaijan. The fact that the 4 July session of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee Caucasian Bureau adopted a decision to leave Nagorno-Karabakh as part of the Armenian SSR attests that the arguments presented by the leadership of Azerbaijan were groundless. However, the following day on Stalin's insistence the Caucasian Bureau revised its decision and as a result a primordially Armenian oblast—Nagorno-Karabakh, 95 percent of whose population were Armenians—was mechanically severed from Armenia and incorporated into the Azerbaijan SSR. Neither the oblast population nor the population of the Armenian SSR could reconcile themselves to this scandalous injustice. Over subsequent decades the Armenian people and the republic's leadership frequently raised the question of restoring historical justice. Other reasons for this were the fact that there was a distinct lag in NKAO socioeconomic development, the national rights and dignity of the oblast's Armenian population were encroached upon, and obstacles were erected in the way of its spiritual development.

Here I would like to stress that, as M.S. Gorbachev pointed out in a conversation with journalists during his visit to Yugoslavia, no one has raised questions about Soviet power, withdrawal from the Soviet Union, or socialism. The role of the party and the policy which it implemented in the sphere of national relations after Lenin has been acknowledged. An extraordinary session of the NKAO Soviet adopted a decision 22 February to petition the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR supreme organs of state power for the reunification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia. This decision does not go beyond the bounds of current constitutional norms. Expressing the unanimous will of the Armenian people, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet gave its consent 15 June this year to the NKAO's entry into the Armenian SSR and asked the USSR Supreme Soviet to examine and positively resolve this question.

We realize that the extremely tense situation in the two republics must be taken into consideration when examining such a complex question. In his well known Appeal to the Working People and the Peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, M.S. Gorbachev called for people to show civic maturity and self-possession and to act within the bounds of reason and sober decisions. The Armenian people reacted with complete understanding and great hope to this appeal. Normal life resumed in the republic. Unfortunately, events in the Azerbaijan SSR unfolded in a completely different manner. The day after the appeal pogroms began against the Armenian population in Sumgait with the obvious connivance of the authorities.

This act of vandalism, which is inconceivable in conditions of socialism, sharply complicated the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh, aroused the just indignation of the Armenian people, and caused the escalation of tension in the region.

The situation is also being inflamed by the actions of irresponsible people, who have resorted to violations of public order in order to draw attention to the question. I mean the incident at Zvartnots Airport. This has caused serious material and moral damage. We will analyze the causes of these phenomena, which are unusual for our country, very thoroughly, but today it is already clear that many major mistakes have been made in the ideological work of the republic's party and soviet organs as a result of which their influence over the masses was considerably reduced. We cannot always control the situation.

When resolving the exceptionally complex problem of Nagorno-Karabakh we must rely on the fundamental provision in the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference resolution on interethnic relations. It points out that any national problems demand a considered, comprehensive approach based on in-depth analysis and objective assessments of every specific situation. They must be resolved calmly, extremely responsibly, within the framework of socialist democracy and legality, primarily through steps to meet one another halfway, taking into consideration the unfolding processes of revolutionary renewal, and without damaging the international unity of the Soviet people. This solution must not only completely settle the situation in the region but must also help restore and develop friendly and good-neighborly

relations between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples. This was the aim pursued by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet when it consented to the NKAO's incorporation into the Armenian SSR and when it asked the USSR Supreme Soviet to examine and positively resolve this question.

Comrades, I would like to voice my opinion on the draft resolution that has been presented to us. In all probability and to our profound regret, we have not been able to convey to the Presidium members the full acuteness and tragic nature of the situation in Armenia and the NKAO. If this resolution is adopted, it will cause both pain and disappointment to the Armenian people since the entire Armenian people expected that, in examining this question, we would be guided by the provisions of the party conference resolutions, of which the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum was the source. I appeal to all members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium—I ask you once again to be inspired by the aspirations and hopes of our people and the interests of strengthening friendship among the peoples of the USSR. Why not take a step to meet one another halfway and find a compromise, an alternative?

M.S. Gorbachev asked G.M. Voskanyan:

Where do you see a compromise? I think that we must find a solution that would not wound either the Armenian or the Azerbaijan peoples and would not put them in a position where people would say that one side had won a victory and the other sustained a defeat. If that happened nothing would change and passions would flare up even more. Let's seek a reasonable way out.

You referred to the 19th party conference and, in particular, you cited its resolution which said that in our multinational state we cannot resolve the tasks of restructuring without peace in our home and without friendship among the peoples.

You were right to cite that fact. I welcome the fact that you have drawn attention to this appeal. But, tell me, does the present situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan tally with the appeal to behave in an appropriate and considered way? After all, people there have essentially organized pressure on the central authorities. This gives rise to questions throughout the country and we are already being accused of conniving with the disorders and the situation that has taken shape in the Transcaucasus. Where is the considered approach here?

And in general, what is the position of party and soviet organs? You are a representative of the supreme power in a union republic. What is your role? You should have met several times and, together with the leadership of Azerbaijan, formulated a decision we could have adopted. But you each submit a separate proposal and force us to decide. The question is then posed in the following terms: Moscow and the Kremlin are to blame. We ask you to labor calmly, to work, and to examine the situation together.

Questions cannot be resolved in a direct confrontation. What questions can be resolved that way? That is no way to resolve questions, and, of course, that is not normal.

Who is muddying the waters in Stepanakert? What is the cause of the tension? Where is its impetus coming from?

People complain that they are not being allowed to go to work. If anyone voices opposition, they immediately begin intimidating him.

Such phenomena exist in Azerbaijan, too: There are people there who look for the beginnings of a fire merely in order to add not just more wood to it but explosives too. Meanwhile they cite the people. What have the people to do with this? The people are already suffering from what is happening all around. They are suffering from the fact that they are forced to go without work and that the sick and the old are being forced to demonstrate. People in the country are asking: What is happening to our brothers in Azerbaijan and Armenia?

Therefore the people have nothing to do with it. I am not going to make some charge against the Armenians or Azerbaijanis. No, we are all to blame because we should have seen these processes in time and resolved them in time. You are correct on this. But now it is necessary to answer for one's actions. At the moment, however, neither one side nor the other is showing proper responsibility.

S.B. Tatliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered an announcement. He said:

It is now 4 months since the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session which examined the question of the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. The resolution adopted at that time contains an objective assessment of the problem that had arisen and specific measures aimed at normalizing the situation in the region.

Azerbaijan's party, soviet, and law enforcement organs have been taking vigorous measures recently to prevent any violation of public order and attempts to aggravate the situation. The potential of labor collectives has been activated on a broad scale. And even though the situation in the republic, apart from the NKAO, is in control [kontroliruyetsya], the situation remains explosive. It is also being complicated by the fact that strikes, processions, and rallies are continuing in Stepanakert as well as by the fact that the number of Azerbaijanis coming to our republic from Armenia is increasing. There are more than 20,000 of them today.

The continuing strikes in the NKAO and other methods based on strong-arm pressure are being used by antirestructuring forces to divert working people from the solution of the tasks of the oblast's socioeconomic development. Increasingly the real aim of this carefully planned action is becoming clear. In the initial stages justified demands were still being put forward relating to the social, cultural, and other needs of the population, needs characteristic not only of the oblast but of our entire republic.

Undoubtedly, many vital needs both of Armenians and Azerbaijanis and of people of other nationalities living in the oblast must be resolved without fail, and the autonomous oblast's existing status makes it possible to do that in full measure.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution offers extensive opportunities for the resolute elimination of many shortcomings and also for the accelerated development of the autonomous oblast.

I would like to report to the Presidium that quite a lot has been done in a short time. For example, the steady reception of television broadcasts from Yerevan has been set up, an oblast television service has been organized, branches of a number of industrial enterprises are being planned, there are plans to expand the furniture factory and build a mixed feed plant and a reservoir, and questions of organizing a new printing base and training specialists in Armenian SSR VUZ's have been resolved.

However, this is precisely what the extremists who are rousing the people do not want. They do not recall the socioeconomic problems today. On 21 June I took part in the work of an oblast soviet session at which the question of seceding from the Azerbaijan SSR was raised a second time. The atmosphere at the session was extremely unhealthy and inflamed. It reflected the grave moral and psychological state that is being artificially maintained among the population of Stepanakert. Each day we receive hundreds of letters from people of Armenian nationality openly expressing their dissatisfaction with and categorical rejection of the question that has been raised and their serious concern at the dangerous development of events. This alarm is also expressed in a letter addressed to M.S. Gorbachev signed by 200,000 Armenians living in Baku.

Now for the decisions adopted by the Supreme Soviets of our republic and the Armenian SSR. On 13 June the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a resolution that deemed unacceptable the transfer of the NKAO from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR. On 17 June the republic's Supreme Soviet approved the Presidium's decision and also passed a resolution deeming it impossible to grant such a request. In this we were guided by the provisions and conclusions contained in the appeal by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and the people of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's and the Central Committee Politburo resolution of 24 March this year. We proceeded from the internationalist interests of the population of the NKAO and the entire republic, the Leninist principle of strengthening the friendship, fraternity, and ties between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, and the need to maintain the country's national-state structure enshrined in the USSR Constitution.

The idea of separating the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR has no political, economic, or legal justification. The separation of Nagorno-Karabakh from the rest of the Karabakh zone and indeed from our entire republic would mean the deliberate destruction of a historically formed integrated complex. Nevertheless, on 15 June a session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet agreed to the incorporation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast in the Armenian SSR. Life has shown that this action not only failed to calm passions but, on the contrary, inflamed them even more, and including in Azerbaijan too.

Thus, in February this year the oblast soviet deputies unlawfully raised the question of transferring the oblast from one union republic to another. This was unlawful because the law on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast adopted in 1981 on the submission of the oblast soviet itself does not envisage any such right. As though encouraging these illegal actions, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet adopts a decision that essentially amounts to a claim to the territory of another Soviet union republic and to a recarving of the territorial-administrative structure of the Azerbaijan SSR. Thereby disregarding Article 78 of the USSR Constitution.

But there is another aspect to this question. Some 36 percent of Soviet Armenians live outside the Armenian SSR, around 1 million in Azerbaijan and Georgia. What about them? M.S. Gorbachev's report to the 19th all-union party conference gave a clear and precise answer to that. "Many people," the report said, "live outside their national formations and there are ethnic groups which do not have territorial autonomy. All these are realities of our multinational state. Collisions may occur here and we have only one way to resolve them: To ensure the maximum consideration of the interests of each nation and ethnic group and of the whole community of the Soviet peoples within the framework of the existing structure of the union state. In our concrete conditions any other approach is simply impossible and any attempt to take another path would be fatal."

I want to report to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that the party and soviet organs, public organizations, and deputies at all levels have mounted work to ensure the international cohesion of our republic's working people, preserve and strengthen the traditional fraternal relations among representatives of all the nations and ethnic groups living in Azerbaijan, and mobilize them to resolve revolutionary tasks in restructuring. We are

counting on effective assistance from the intelligentsia in this. Unfortunately, certain members of it in both our republics are to blame for the emergence of the conflict in interethnic relations. Not everyone has had a sufficient sense of great responsibility for the fate of his people, scrupulousness, and political culture. Yet the people trust them. As life shows, not all of them value this trust, which leads to undesirable consequences.

The events in the NKAO and their tragic repercussions in Sumgait and elsewhere in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR force us to give serious thought to the consideration, solicitude, and respectfulness with which we should treat one another. We have a common destiny, for we all constitute the united Soviet people. We must jointly resolve the complex and large-scale tasks of restructuring, clearing barriers and interethnic strife and mistrust from its path. We ask the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, fully ensuring the protection of the Azerbaijan SSR's sovereign rights, to reject the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet's request of 15 June.

In conclusion, I would like to convey to the members of the Presidium the demand of the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet from our republic and of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet and of the whole working people that all the necessary measures be taken to end the disorders and other illegal actions in the NKAO and that the full weight of authority be used to impose order there.

M.S. Gorbachev: The chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium said that it is necessary to seek a way out and seek it together. How do you see a compromise? You know that the greatest wisdom and responsibility are required now and that both Armenians and Azerbaijanis must ponder everything that is happening in the region and hold out a hand to each other.

If we remain in the grip of passions, and passions are running very high, I do not think we will perform the mission for which we have assembled today. You talk with the people, you have not yet done so. So how can you speak for them and assume in advance that the people will not understand the situation? We must seek a way out.

I can see from the speech from the Armenian side that the Armenians do not believe in the guarantees that exist today and do not believe that the tension will not recur. Let's agree to strengthen these guarantees somehow. How should they be strengthened? But you deny that there were any serious deformations in the NKAO.

Instigators and provocateurs operating in both Armenia and Azerbaijan have leeched on the situation. They are flocking around like crows around carrion, so to speak, merely biding their time. There are also real factors exacerbating the situation, and you admit this. How can we strengthen the guarantees that this will not recur and that everything outlined by the party Central Committee and the government will be done?

Do you not agree with my proposal that you Azerbaijani comrades should still reconsider? Think again, think again. There are various options.

It has also been suggested here that perhaps, without withdrawing Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the Azerbaijan republic, representatives of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Government could be appointed to the oblast, so that they could implement all the plans on the spot.

I think this should be discussed again and again. We all have to live in the same country, together. There is no other way. A letter from Armenia that I was given once says: If you do not decide the question our way, we will go to Australia. How can people talk like that?

I believe the creation of joint deputies' groups in the two republics is a correct proposal. It must not be forgotten that the main protagonist in our history is the people. However highly the services of politicians and intellectuals may be valued, all the same it is the people who make the final decision. And sometimes the people set forth the most profound things very simply and clearly. We must respect the discussion that is taking place here.

For my part, I welcome the fact that Comrades Vezirov and Arutyunyan have finally met, after 15 years. Ordinary people welcomed this, they are saying with tears in their eyes: "We saw who is inciting disorders, who is intimidating us."

The friendship and respect of one people for the neighboring people have not yet been destroyed. They have been living alongside each other for centuries, after all. That respect must be preserved. That should be the starting point.

After all, we have to live this way forever. You are chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium too, you must not get excited, what you need, now especially, is sober reasoning and the skill of respecting your opponent.

A report was delivered at the session by G.A. Pogosyan, first secretary of Nagorno-Karabakh Azerbaijan Communist Party Obkom.

The vast majority of the country's population, he said, have a very hazy idea of the history and geography of the region where these events have taken shape. But for the initiated, there is no doubt that Nagorno-Karabakh has been populated by Armenians from time immemorial and is part of their motherland.

So how did Nagorno-Karabakh come to be part of the Azerbaijan SSR? Unfortunately, the then leadership of Azerbaijan, taking advantage of Stalin's support and a situation that was extremely difficult for the Transcaucasus and for Russia as a whole, secured the incorporation in the Azerbaijan SSR of a territory where more than 94 percent of the population were Armenians.

The subsequent 65 years of existence of so-called "autonomy" were years of oppression for the oblast's Armenian population. As a rule, emissaries from Baku were appointed to key positions in the oblast leadership. In scientific works and school and VUZ textbooks published in Azerbaijan, historical facts that are axiomatic and common knowledge are treated simplistically or entirely distorted. The question of the origin of the indigenous people became a really tricky question in the republic. Its study was often accompanied by the desire to portray the history of one's own people as more ancient and noble, to the detriment of one's neighbors.

The annual deductions from the oblast paid to the budgets of higher bodies averaged R91 million a year in recent decades. The oblast's own budget was 42 million, or 46 percent of the deductions. So we received no handouts, we were never parasites. Per capita production in the oblast: 67 kg of meat, as against 27 kg for the republic; 320 kg of milk, as against 155 kg. We receive no subsidies, on the contrary, we deliver these most important types of output to republican stocks.

We followed attentively the 17 June session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. Its leitmotif was this idea: The border of Azerbaijan is only theoretical, we do not keep anyone who does not want to live in our republic, they can go.

Fine, but what about the fact that we joined Azerbaijan as an autonomous entity, with our own land? What about Article 11 of the Constitution, according to which in any part of the Soviet Union the land is under the exclusive ownership of the state and is the common property of all the Soviet people? Then why should the Azerbaijani people have the right to veto the resolution of our problem, how can one people be allowed to decide the fate of another people in a socialist state?

Certain interpreters of the laws make attempts to avoid solving the problem by citing relevant articles of the Constitution. I am not convinced by attempts to demonstrate the impossibility of resolving the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh within the framework of the existing Constitution. Rather, they are trying to use it as a weapon to torpedo the issue itself. Attempts are made to counterpose to the demands of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh the supposedly opposing opinions of numerous Armenians living in other regions of the republic. We reject these attempts.

Our opponents also make this objection: Nagorno-Karabakh cannot become part of Armenia, because they do not even have a common border, forgetting that the oblast is seven times closer to the Armenian border than Nakhichevan is to the Azerbaijan SSR.

Please understand me correctly: The Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh cannot be satisfied solely with material benefits to the detriment of national cultural and spiritual development.

The unjust resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, as experience shows, will lead inevitably to the Armenian population being driven out of their homeland. The guarantee and warning of this is the fate of the Armenians of the Nakhichevan ASSR.

It is pointless to conceal the fact that the good relations between Armenians and Azerbaijanis have shown signs of cracking severely, and in order to heal the wound we need time, for all our efforts it will take years to forget, make amends, dampen down the mutual insults and offenses that flared up, and forget Sumgait.

Every day there should be many thousands of business contacts between representatives of these two nationalities, today they are not working, and, let us be realistic, they will not do so soon. Keeping an eye on all of them and promoting manifestations of mutual compliance and good will is a task virtually beyond the powers of any organ. In the situation that has arisen the withdrawal of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan can be the only correct solution.

I have tried without embellishment, so to speak, to convey to you in a brief speech the situation today and the factors that gave rise to it. I do not know whether I have succeeded. In any event I have tried to strictly follow the principle proclaimed by M.S. Gorbachev at the 19th party conference: "The truth, as it is, is better than a half-truth that people want to hear."

As for economic ties between lowland and upland [nizmennyy i nagornyy] Karabakh: No economic ties exist between upland and lowland Karabakh. What does exist is a very strongly manifested, very clear dependence of Nagorno-Karabakh, the economic dependence of Nagorno-Karabakh on Azerbaijan as a whole. As of today Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast does not have its own flour mill, its own mixed feed plant, its own ferroconcrete articles plant, its own housing construction combine.

The production capacity of our construction organizations is R20 million a year. We have been given R400 million. R400 million must be utilized in 7 years. In 7 years, at R20 million a year, it is possible to utilize R140 million. Who will utilize the rest for us, if we do not have the production capacities?

The debates then began.

The first to speak in the debate was V.P. Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He stressed that the USSR Constitution guarantees the equality and sovereignty of all the country's peoples and ethnic groups. The resolutions specially adopted on Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers and also by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium created all the conditions to make it possible to set aside emotions and accretions and concentrate on the constructive resolution of the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh and the normalization of the situation surrounding it.

However, in this region the path that has been chosen is basically a path of pressure, an anticonstitutional path contrary to the spriit and course of restructuring.

The strikes taking place today in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, the speaker stressed, are having a disastrous effect on the activity of production collectives in other parts of the country and hitting the working person's pocket.

M.S. Gorbachev: That is a serious matter, you know. Some people have taken advantage of real problems that must be tackled, and harnessed the movement of people who are worried about how to live. It is a question of the joint life of our people, of our peoples. Therefore you speak truly.

V.P. Orlov: That is how the situation is developing.

M.S. Gorbachev: I have received many telegrams concerning what is happening in the country, asking what the government is doing and what the Central Committee is doing. People ask how people can live in Nagorno-Karabakh when they haven't worked since February, for we live from one pay day to the next.

V.P. Orlov: The request to the USSR Supreme Soviet to resolve the question of transferring Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan to Armenia without the consent of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet contravenes the Constitution. For the 1924 constitution, 1936 constitution, and 1977 constitution which governs our lives all contain essentially the same point that the territory of a union republic cannot be changed without its consent. The borders between union republics can be changed by mutual agreement of the appropriate republics, subject to USSR ratification. This principle obtained nationwide support during the discussion of the draft constitution, including from the working people of Armenia and the NKAO. In fact it serves today as one of the most important guarantees of all union republics' equality and sovereignty.

I believe that here we have run up against an attempt to exploit democratic rights for antidemocratic and anticonstitutional purposes. Such abuses of democracy are fundamentally at odds with today's tasks, the tasks of restructuring, and run counter to the interests of the Soviet people.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, pointed out that the question under discussion cannot be a matter of indifference for any Soviet person, whatever his nationality. The people of the Ukraine are profoundly worried about events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. Since what is happening there is our common pain and alarm for our socialist state.

The working people of Armenia and Azerbaijan, like all Soviet people, certainly need a calm, normal human life and the preservation of law and order, rather than the mutual strife to which they have now descended. We think that M.S. Gorbachev's well known appeal and the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers resolution published later on measures to accelerate the NKAO's socioeconomic development contain a constructive basis for a way out of the prevailing situation.

Of course, we see that the causes of what has happened built up over the years. They include causes linked with omissions in international education and shortcomings in socioeconomic development and in meeting the population's national cultural requirements.

At the same time it is becoming increasingly obvious that the positions and actions of people endeavoring to kindle national egoism and fuel emotions, imparting to them an increasingly bellicose antisocial character and even, it can now be said, an anti-Soviet character, can be traced behind the events that are taking place. After all, things went as far as the seizure of the airport. Things went that far because certain extremists are calling on the citizens of Armenia, as PRAVDA wrote, to independently [samostiyno] change the leadership of party, economic, and soviet organs. This, of course, is no good. Such irresponsible, illegal actions on the part of extremist elements naturally arouse indignation in light of the consequences that followed the seizure of the airport. I know that the people of Kiev and the Donbass (many party obkom secretaries called me) are expressing criticism of us, of the Supreme Soviet Presidium (and this probably also applies to the Politburo): Why are these outbursts not resolutely suppressed? People believe that this situation can no longer be tolerated.

Clearly, the speaker believes, it is now very important for us all to take care to protect society from such unthinking actions and various kinds of extremist nationalist sentiments and from manifestly nonsocialist elements that camouflage their essentially subversive antirestructuring aims with democratic slogans.

We have no right to forget that some people abroad are trying to do everything possible to ensure that what is currently happening in the Transcaucasus takes place on a broader scale in other regions of our country. I believe that the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia are well aware of this.

Unfortunately it seems to me that local organs have been unable for a long time now to find effective ways to resolve the conflict and are not keeping up with events, as the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum acknowledged, and essentially, it seems to me, they are not currently in control of the situation, particularly in Armenia. Things have gone as far as a Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Soviet session adopting an unconstitutional resolution on withdrawing from the Azerbaijan republic. How this could be tolerated by Communists and the oblast party committee is completely incredible to me.

Thus the situation has become inflamed to the limit, and this state of affairs can no longer be tolerated. The speaker went on to cite statistics testifying that in July Ukrainian machine-building enterprises alone are recording an output shortfall of around R200 million as a result of the nondelivery of equipment and subassemblies from Armenia. Shortfalls in supplies of subassemblies for elevators have already meant that around 5,000 apartments in the republic as a whole have not been commissioned. This is affecting the interests of many collectives throughout the country and influencing the psychological atmosphere. This extends far beyond the framework of a local conflict.

We ask the comrades from these republics to understand the situation that has arisen.

At the 19th party conference we set the task of creating a socialist legal state. We have raised the question of legal reform. This obliges us to give serious thought right now to the incompatibility with legal norms of what is currently happening in this region. I believe that we are obliged to separate the real problem which has come to a head from everything extraneous and, where necessary, to invoke authority [upotrebit vlast]. Nobody whatsoever must be allowed to equate our democracy with permissiveness and impunity. Otherwise situations like this will arise time and again. It is probably necessary to embark more resolutely on replacing compromised leaders of labor collectives, particularly collectives that have been on strike for a protracted period. What kind of people are these leaders? And all the strikers must clearly understand that there will have to be a serious calling to account for failing to meet plan targets and contract deliveries.

Now, when the country has embarked on the decisive stage of restructuring, there is a particular need for unity of action and close cohesion among all nations and ethnic groups. This is why it is so important to rise above mutual recriminations and demands while not infringing on anyone's rights. M.S. Gorbachev constantly stresses this idea: While not infringing on anyone's interests, the prime need is to proceed from the supreme interests of all the peoples, the interests of our unified union state. Unfortunately I did not observe this in the Armenian and Azerbaijani representatives' speeches today. It seems to me that they should be reminded that respect for the country's Constitution must be displayed not only in speeches but in deeds and actions.

It is well known that under Article 78 of the Constitution—this has already been mentioned today—borders between union republics can only be changed by their mutual consent. At present there is no such consent. Therefore this constitutional provision is both the reference point and the foundation for adopting a decision. If we are to proceed from the laws currently in force it seems to me impossible, as it is suggested that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium draft resolution should indicate, to adopt a decision on changing the status of the NKAO.

The speaker stressed that it is particularly important at this time for real Soviet patriots—and they are in the absolute majority in both Armenia and Azerbaijan—and first and foremost Communists and Komsomol members, to set a practical example of internationalism in all their actions, remembering Lenin's behest that at all times and in all things international interests must be placed above narrowly conceived national interests.

A particularly worrying fact in the present situation around Nagorno-Karabakh, Z.K. Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said, is that, instead of calm and considered analysis of the causes and consideration of each of the peoples' interests, attempts are being made to inflame passions. It is possible to conclude from all this that antirestructuring forces which are fueling the conflict and skillfully playing on people's national feelings are operating in an active and organized manner in the events around Nagorno-Karabakh. It is already obvious how hard the events around Nagorno-Karabakh are hitting the country's economy, the speaker stressed.

Speaking about the Alma-Ata events in December of the year before last, the speaker emphasized that demagogues and enemies of restructuring skillfully took advantage of the unhealthy situation in interethnic relations at the time, offering young people a perfidious slogan which offended national dignity.

M.S. Gorbachev: More and more news is coming from Armenia and Azerbaijan indicating that this is a sly maneuver by those who are retarding restructuring in order to divert people's attention from the problems that actually have to be resolved in these republics: cadre questions, the struggle against negative phenomena, the black economy, and favoritism. These are forces that are afraid that restructuring will soon call them to account.

Z.K. Kamalidenov: But common sense and moral health helped the Kazakh people to take a sober look at the events and overcome the estrangement between nations. The spiritual atmosphere is now changing in the republic, Leninist norms of social life are being revived.

Bearing in mind that events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh affect the interests of all Soviet people, Kazakhstan's working people appeal once more to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to fully exercise its lofty authority and constitutional rights to ensure normal life on the territory of these republics.

We believe that Communists and all working people in Armenia and Azerbaijan will find the strength and courage to overcome the difficulties of the discord which has arisen and to preserve and strengthen their friendship in the interests of the whole Soviet people.

Next on the rostrum was L.N. Zaykov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow Party Gorkom.

The 19th all-union party conference resolution, he said, emphasizes that restructuring, democratization, and glasnost have revealed negative phenomena in interethnic relations and at the same time created the conditions necessary for democratically overcoming them. These are far from simple questions. They can be resolved wisely, fairly, and without infringing on the interests of any of the brother-peoples and of our union as a whole only by taking all factors into account.

Socioeconomic, juridical, and historical-political aspects can be singled out in the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Real socioeconomic interests lie beneath the ethnic external surface of the conflict. The tasks of soviets at central and local level is to institute unflagging monitoring of the implementation of major decisions made by the country's leadership on enhancing the prosperity of NKAO residents and further developing the economic and cultural potential there, to ensure that people can already see tangible results in the next few months and years.

At the same time, the speaker stressed, it is necessary to instruct law enforcement organs to investigate the unseemly and essentially inflammatory role played by the antirestructuring forces and corrupt clans that were frankly discussed at the 19th conference.

There must also be blunt talk about the serious economic damage that the unrest is causing to the national economy of the Armenian and Azerbaijani republics and the country's economy as a whole. Ultimately this hits not only the All-Union budget but also the prosperity of many families.

The shortfall in component deliveries by enterprises in the Armenian SSR to Moscow enterprises has already reached a total of several million rubles in the current month alone, and this could result in a number of most important products, including consumer goods, failing to be produced. This necessitates the setting up of backup production units.

We must firmly declare, L.N. Zaykov said, that democracy does not mean total license, it is not a pretext for attempts to solve pressing problems by strong-arm methods and emotional pressure. "Reshaping" the borders of republics and oblasts could sever economic interrelationships and slow down the development of the unified national economic complex. Why should we replace one braking mechanism by another? The paramount issue at the present stage of restructuring is not the revision of national-state forms but the elimination of local remnants of national and social injustice and distortions in the development of the economy and the social sphere, culture, and ecology.

Discussing the legal aspect of the problem, the speaker noted:

The question is not really one of whether a change in the borders of union republics or Nagorno-Karabakh's direct subordination to central authority depend on a decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The question is: Do we have the constitutional right to do this? It is well known that Article 78 of the USSR Constitution and the corresponding articles in the republic constitutions stipulate that the territory of a union republic cannot be changed without its consent.

Some people are urging us to go ahead, not be formalists, and revise the provisions of the USSR Constitution governing the procedure for changing the borders of union republics. This is an oversimplified approach. The inviolability of borders is the sovereign right of every union republic and the USSR as a whole. The USSR Constitution also offers no possibility to satisfy a request to subordinate an autonomous oblast directly to higher USSR bodies of authority and administration. Autonomous republics and oblasts are part of a given union republic and therefore cannot be removed from its jurisdiction either temporarily or permanently.

People often refer to the self-determination of nations in order to validate the need to transfer Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. The working people of Nagorno-Karabakh were given the status of an autonomous oblast incorporated in Azerbaijan in 1923 as a result of a voluntary expression of will by the Armenian population of this region. So would it now be lawful to alter this constitutional decision? No, it would not. Any precedent of redrawing borders is fraught with pernicious, unpredictable consequences. Restraint, patience, and wisdom must be displayed in Moscow, Yerevan, Baku, and Stepanakert.

Using all the authority of the state and every economic, political, and propaganda means at our disposal, we must put an end to this prolonged, ugly situation and return our brothers in Armenia and Azerbaijan to work and a normal, good-neighborly life.

P.G. Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, noted that the events in Azerbaijan and Armenia obviously must concern the Georgian population more than any other. This is not only because of their direct territorial contiguity but also because there are many people of Armenian and Azerbaijani nationality living in Georgia. Proceeding from this, the speaker said, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government are implementing additional measures relating to the socioeconomic development of regions populated by representatives of these and other ethnic groups living outside their own state territorial formations.

The speaker assessed the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh as extremely complex and unusual. Given this complex situation it is very difficult to offer any ready solution, he said. But if that is what we are talking about, it can only be and must primarily be measures to combat nationalism and chauvinism.

Good fraternity is an invaluable asset. Ye.Ye. Sokolov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, began his speech by recalling this piece of popular wisdom. Friendship among peoples, he said, is the strength that helped our country to conquer fascism. Friendship among peoples is the main motive force of restructuring. Consequently, we regard the complication of the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh as encroaching on something most sacred and undermining the unity of our fatherland, undermining restructuring.

The speaker urged party and soviet bodies and the public living in Azerbaijan and Armenia to refrain from the language of ultimatums and work together to rectify the mistakes made and solve the problem within a framework of legality.

We understand that there are many tasks confronting us at home and in the international sphere, N.G. Basov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and director of the P.N. Lebedev Physics Institute, said. We are finding solutions to problems in international affairs, we have even succeeded in coming to an agreement with the Americans on complex questions of the preservation of life on earth. Yet the events in Nagorno-Karabakh have been continuing to trouble us for several months now.

There was no note of compromise to be heard in today's speeches by the chairmen of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Presidiums, the speaker noted. The speaker proposed that a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium commission be sent to Nagorno-Karabakh to help to resolve the problem bit by bit and find a way to normalize the situation. The two republics must meet each other half-way.

In tackling nationality and territorial questions outright diktat, strong-arm tactics, and ultimatum-style and anticonstitutional actions are impermissible, R.N. Nishanov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, said. The main task now is not revising the existing borders between republics but establishing order in our common home.

The speaker expressed regret that in G.M. Voskanyan's speech the question was, for all intents and purposes, posed in such a manner as to suggest that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium should adopt a decision on the lines of that adopted by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. In order to resolve this problem, it is necessary to put an end to demands in the form of ultimatums, strikes, and rallies with their extremist appeals.

Academician V.A. Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, condemned the unlawful phenomena in Armenia and the NKAO. He noted that a resolute struggle for the restoration of public order is necessary.

Analyzing the historical causes of the situation that has developed, the speaker took the side of those NKAO inhabitants who favor the autonomous oblast's withdrawal from Azerbaijan and incorporation in the Armenian SSR. The scientist leveled a number of sharply worded accusations at the former leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR for its policy toward the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh. He also expressed his concern at the fact that, in his view, as yet no resolute steps are being implemented to seriously improve the prevailing situation.

What we bequeath to our grandchildren and great grandchildren—whether it will be national strife for decades to come or a feeling of togetherness—will depend on our decision today, writer R.G. Gamzatov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said.

This is why we do not have the right to make a mistake in discussing the way out of the impasse today. And it must be honestly admitted that such a mistake has already been committed by the chairmen of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Presidiums, who have just addressed us. As a highlander, the speaker said, I would liken the solutions to the problem they proposed to setting off a massive avalanche in the mountains. So what are we to do? My proposal is simple: Leave everything as it is for the moment, which fully accords with the Constitution. At the same time, we ought to consider

the possibility of placing Nagorno-Karabakh under the temporary administration of union organs pending the adoption of fundamental decisions.

A.-R.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee, took the floor. It is upsetting and painful, he said, that a problem whose very formulation has inflicted substantial damage on the friendship of neighboring peoples is being discussed at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium after the 19th all-union party conference. It is necessary, without delay, to adopt measures to restore public order and the rule of law and to end the unprecedented strike in Stepanakert.

The author described the campaign that is being camouflaged by slogans about democratization and glasnost as unlawful. Describing the situation in the NKAO, he pointed out that party and soviet organs do not enjoy power in the autonomous oblast; people are being led by the very individuals who have inspired the negative phenomena.

I have toured rayons in both republics together with Comrade Arutyunyan, the speaker said. People appealed to us directly: Do not allow the age-old friendship between our peoples to be destroyed.

M.S. Gorbachev: You have mentioned your meetings with Comrade Arutyunyan. But Comrade Nishanov here told me that Uzbek and Tajik leaders did not meet for 20 or 25 years. And these are very close republics, their destinies are intertwined. A large number of Tajiks live in Samarkand. Yet the republic leaders did not meet for quarter of a century. What a state of affairs!

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke with concern about the situation that has complicated the relations between the two neighboring peoples. The Central Committee, he said, is doing everything possible to achieve a breakthrough, to normalize the situation in the republic. It is of considerable significance that we have found a common language and mutual understanding with Comrade Vezirov in our desire to find a solution to the problem. It must be resolved calmly within the framework of the socialist rule of law.

The speaker described the quest for compromise solutions as constructive. These could include placing the NKAO temporarily under the jurisdiction of central union or RSFSR organs, the transformation of the oblast into an autonomous republic, or the dispatch to Nagorno-Karabakh of special representatives of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Other options are also possible.

Poet I.V. Abashidze, academician of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, noted that the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and the ensuing tension in relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan are a cause of immense alarm for Soviet people, especially the Georgian people. And not only because the trouble afflicting our brethren is a shared trouble but also because many Armenians and Azerbaijanis live in Georgia. The speaker sided with the view that meetings between representatives of the two peoples should begin without delay. This should be the prime duty of representatives of the intelligentsia, who have actively influenced the development of friendship between the Transcaucasian peoples. Genuine patriotism means seeking paths toward friendship and broad cooperation with neighboring peoples.

The events around Nagorno-Karabakh are damaging for us all, damaging to the Soviet peoples' friendship, Academican A.A. Logunov, rector of Moscow State University, said. The decisions adopted in Armenia run counter to the USSR Constitution. We must proceed from the Fundamental Law of our country—there can be no question of the transfer of the autonomous oblast to the Armenian SSR.

Many problems built up in the NKAO over many years, but restructuring is under way, and the measures outlined by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers must be taken strictly in hand and carried out without fail in the shortest possible time. This is the main way to solve the problem.

The speaker stressed the special role of the two union republics' intelligentsia in rallying the healthy forces of society. At present this work has tailed off. The impression is that other people rather than the party and soviet organs of Armenia are directing events.

The session was addressed by Academician S.A. Ambartsumyan of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, rector of Yerevan State University. The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is not a new one. An historical injustice was committed and part of the Armenian people found itself, against its will, in an autonomous formation created outside Soviet Armenia. He stated that a new political situation exists in Armenia today, a mass nationwide movement founded on a belief in the victory of reason and justice.

The speaker considered it his duty to state that everyone is extremely aggrieved by and condemns the lamentable conflict at Zvartnots Airport. There is no doubt that the culprits must be discovered and severely punished. We also condemn the strikes and hunger strikes, which, I have learned, have now ceased.

I would describe as naive the hope that the people's movement can be stilled and nullified by appeals to strengthen internationalism and the friendship of the peoples, he said.

The speaker expressed agreement with M.S. Gorbachev, who stressed that we must seek compromise.

M.S. Gorbachev: In my opinion, there is no hint of the possibility of compromise in your speech. It is the first speech that contains not even a hint of self-criticism or compromise. Your speech shows where you authoritative people are leading young people, where you are summoning the people to go. You do not want to enter into dialogue, Comrade Ambartsumyan, and you want to create the impression that it is you who are fighting for Nagorno-Karabakh and upholding the Armenian people's interests. But can you really divorce the interests of the Armenian people from the interests of Azerbaijan and the whole country.

I share all that you said regarding pain and ordeals. That disturbs us all. But you do not wish to enter into dialogue not only with the Azerbaijanis but with us.

S.A. Ambartsumyan: I do want to. I do want to enter into dialogue. But before entering into dialogue with you I consider it my duty as a Communist, teacher, and rector to tell the whole truth about the situation that has come about in our republic. A tense situation.

M.S. Gorbachev: Allow me to ask you a direct question. Are you certain that you speak precisely on behalf of the people?

S.A. Ambartsumyan: I speak on behalf of my voters, professors, and young students. The situation is extremely grave. God forbid that we should see what is happening now! If you read and see my speeches on television in Armenia, see my articles, and see my speech after the 19th party conference—they are diametrically opposed.

M.S. Gorbachev: I know this, by the way. And I was surprised at what I heard from you.

S.A. Ambartsumyan: You should not be surprised. I could have ended my speech as many speakers have done, by saying that nothing can be done since there is such-and-such an article in the Constitution. We must abide by it and that's all. But I say that even you, when you met with the intelligentsia and scientists in Poland, said forthrightly that, without waiting for a congress, without waiting for amendments to the Constitution, without waiting for anything, we must embark on action and work right now, guided by the decisions of the 19th party conference. I say: Let us introduce an amendment on the nationalities question withot waiting for amendments to the Constitution.

I want to say that we need compromise. If we do not compromise, then we, at least in Armenia, will find it very tough and difficult. I am not a young man, I have seen a good deal, know a good deal, but things like what is happening in Armenia now have never happened anywhere. The intelligentsia fears that any precipitate decision on this question could have tragic consequences. We are frightened by Zvartnots Airport. We are frightened by the homemade [vypushchennyye] bombs, weapons, and so forth. All this should be feared. That is why our decision today must be a compromise.

I propose several options by way of compromise: Temporary presidential rule of Nagorno-Karabakh could be established. The NKAO could be temporarily withdrawn from subordination to the Azerbaijan SSR, not, I stress, withdrawn from the Azerbaijan SSR, but withdrawn temporarily from subordination to the Azerbaijan SSR, and subordinated to a special organ of a triumvirate type. A special triple organ could be assigned from the Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers that would temporarily govern until we find a just constitutional solution for the NKAO.

I am a scientist, I work in the exact sciences and know that it is very often impossible to solve a problem without a compromise, particularly in politics.

M.S. Gorbachev: When I speak about compromise, I have something else in mind. You suggest a compromise that maintains estrangement between the two peoples. We do not want that. You propose: Since we do not trust one another, let the Almighty in the shape of the all-union government govern us. But I am talking about a compromise where people meet one another halfway. I have received information that there was the following idea in Azerbaijan: Perhaps, in order to create greater confidence among Armenians living in the NKAO, the oblast's status should be raised to that of an autonomous republic? I think that is interesting. I am impressed that such a question has been raised precisely in Azerbaijan. We have spoken with Comrade Arutyunyan, he also supported this. But a session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Soviet met and declared that it is not subordinate to Azerbaijan, and did so at the very moment when this solution was being studied.

A voice from the hall: A rally was held in Stepanakert at which it was stated that this is not necessary. Certain circles in Azerbaijan at once began collecting signatures.

M.S. Gorbachev: And not only that. It was proposed to eliminate the oblast altogether.

More than that. We know that there are no fewer Azerbaijanis living in Armenia than there are Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. So, will we create an autonomous oblast there too? We believe that there are certain forces which do not want the problem to be resolved correctly at all.

Emphasis is frequently placed here on the way demography and the makeup of the population are changing. This is presented as an important argument and even as the result of a definite policy. Tell me, how large was the Azerbaijani population in Yerevan at the beginning of the century?

S.A. Ambartsumyan: At the beginning of the century, in Yerevan?

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes.

S.A. Ambartsumyan: I find it hard to say.

M.S. Gorbachev: You are obliged to know. I will remind you—Azerbaijanis made up 43 percent of the population in Yerevan at the beginning of the century. What is the percentage of Azerbaijanis now?

S.A. Ambartsumyan: It is very small now. Probably 1 percent.

M.S. Gorbachev: Nevertheless, I do not wish to accuse the Armenians of driving the Azerbaijanis out of there. Evidently, some processes were taking place which it is generally necessary to investigate. If we seize on any figure like this, draw far-reaching conclusions from it, and fling accusations at each other, nothing will come of it. But you are a scientist! You must be accurate in your information, accurate in the truth. If it is only your truth or my truth, it is still not the truth. But there is a truth which has taken place: Armenians and Azerbaijanis lived on this land for centuries. For you Nagorno-Karabakh is a cradle, so to speak, one of the Armenian nation's strongpoints. But, you know, composers and many other Azerbaijani figures of the arts have come out of Shusha and Karabakh. You must not, as it were, go plowing so unceremoniously through human souls, through families, through centuries.

S.A. Ambartsumyan: Plowing is out, Mikhail Sergeyevich. What is needed is accurate information. We hope that the Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviet Presidium will come up with a decision that deputies from the Armenian SSR can take away and convince the people that this decision is the most optimum and possible.

M.S. Gorbachev: Politics is the art of the possible.

S.A. Ambartsumyan: Of course.

M.S. Gorbachev: A political process is taking place here, a process of formulating a decision.

S.A. Ambartsumyan: And this is why I say that the question of Nagorno-Karabakh must be resolved by political means.

M.S. Gorbachev: But you must fulfill the promise of which you have spoken here: People must be brought back to a normal life.

V.A. Petrosyan, secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board and deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, began his speech by claiming that 1921 sharply changed the Karabakh people's historical destiny. The speaker declared that for 67 years now the inhabitants of this autonomous oblast have been demanding the abrogation of the unjust decision on their fate. Can this really be called, he turned to the session participants, an encroachment on Azerbaijan's territorial integrity? The speaker developed this thought in a more categorical form. Nagorno-Karabakh, he declared, cannot remain within the structure of Azerbaijan, and any decisions that ignore this truth attained by the Karabakh people through suffering, as the writer put it, threaten a catastrophe.

The speaker expressed the opinion that an attempt at genocide was made in Sumgait.

M.S. Gorbachev: Genocide is a definite policy, racial and organized, not spontaneous. The excesses in Sumgait were committed by the dregs of society. It has been established who they were. But genocide is a policy of annihilation deliberately pursued against some people or minority. Why do you want to ascribe the thugs' misconduct to the whole of Azerbaijan? How can you talk about genocide? You know what kind of word it is and the weight it carries. You are flinging around accusations that you will regret for the rest of your life.

The speaker declared that an unjust solution to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh will create disappointment and pain.

M.S. Gorbachev: But are you thinking about other peoples too?

B.A. Petrosyan: Of course we do.

M.S. Gorbachev: Therefore you ought to be urging us to think about the peoples' common fate, what their lives must be like. Right?

V.A. Petrosyan: Yes.

M.S. Gorbachev: This comes first. This is a very important clarification, because this is the only way we can think—about everyone. We cannot disregard either the Armenian people, or the Azerbaijani or any other people.

V.A. Petrosyan: Absolutely correct.

M.S. Gorbachev: I have another question to ask you. Your speech and other speeches put forward the idea that the Nagorno-Karabakh problems can be solved only by transferring it to Armenia. Tell me, is there no other way?

V.A. Petrosyan: I don't see any, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

M.S. Gorbachev: Suppose we adopt the decision you suggest. I am speaking conditionally. There will be 400,000 Armenians left in Azerbaijan, of whom 207,000 live in Baku. There are 500,000 Armenians living in Georgia. What will happen to them? Do they also have to be transferred to Armenia?

V.A. Petrosyan: That is a different matter.

M.S. Gorbachev: If the problem cannot be solved otherwise than by setting up some sort of state formation and amending the Constitution for one section of the population, then some solution must also be found for the other section of the population. What will happen then to Tajiks living in Uzbekistan and to Uzbeks living in Tajikistan?

How many Azerbaijanis live in Georgia, Comrade Gilashvili?

P.G. Gilashvili: Up to 500,000.

M.S. Gorbachev: What will happen to them? They live on the border with Azerbaijan, it will be easy to separate them.

We must examine all these phenomena of life in their proper context. We suggest that wherever a Soviet person of any nationality may live, in whichever corner of the land, he must feel good. No, this does not happen everywhere. This is abnormal. This must be condemned. We pretended that this was not so, referring to really tremendous achievements. As a matter of fact, none of you mentioned these achievements, including Nagorno-Karabakh's development. And yet there has been a leap across the centuries here, across an entire social formation. Today's Nagorno-Karabakh, despite all the existing shortcomings, is a cultured and developed autonomous oblast. And so I ask this: What are we members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium to do? How are we to approach the solution of the problem? If the transfer of the NKAO is the only way, then we must recarve our entire country. People have lived here for centuries. They will tell us: Have you in the center gone out of your minds, where are you pushing the people? We live and work here, we have everything, but you are forcing us to make life fit some invented concept that is detached from life.

Nobody doubts that the Nagorno-Karabakh problem exists and must be solved. The only point is how to solve it—this is what we are talking about. But you are offering just one single option.

V.A. Petrosyan: Because, Mikhail Sergeyevich, the experience of so many decades proves that no other option is possible.

M.S. Gorbachev: No, we will ponder what you've said, and you ponder what we've said. You have made a very impassioned appeal to us to give the matter some thought. But put yourself in our shoes, we, being responsible for the fate of the people, must weigh everything most thoroughly.

V.A. Petrosyan: I realize that this is complex and difficult.

V.S. Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, expressed regret at the fact that the party and soviet organs of Azerbaijan and Armenia have been unable to take advantage of the attention and assistance extended to them by the CPSU Central Committee and the All-Union government. The fact, the speaker said, that Lithuania is receiving numerous letters and telegrams containing requests for solidarity from labor collectives in the two republics is perplexing. The people who travel around seeking sympathy often disseminate inaccurate information.

The problems that have emerged in our country in the sphere of national relations should be solved in accordance with the spirit of the 19th party conference, the speaker noted. He supported Academician Basov's proposal on forming a commission that would find a way out of the situation on a legal basis.

We are Communists first of all, and only then representatives of different nationalities. That is how Academician Ye.M. Primakov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute, began his speech. Therefore, he continued, the first thing that must concern us is the fact that the conflict that has arisen is a mine planted beneath restructuring. The need for a compromise in solving this issue is beyond question. For an uncompromising posture is a breeding ground for extremism. We must seek scope for compromise. Allusions to history are not constructive. Nor are allusions to the predominance of a national majority among the population. The scope for compromise does not lie in transferring the NKAO from one republic to another but only, as I see it, in elevating its status to that of autonomous republic. I also believe it is necessary to send a special commission from Moscow there shortly after the autonomous republic is created.

The country's economy is an integrated national economic complex. Stressing this tenet, S.A. Shalayev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the AUCCTU, noted that the organizers of the strike must clearly be well aware that by stopping production they will affect the entire complex system of intersectorial territorial-production links.

The country's working class and labor collectives are making their own proletarian assessment of these events. Today the real defense of the legitimate interests of the two republics' workers and all their working people lies in defending them from the actions of instigators, provocateurs, and disorganizers of production who are kindling interethnic passions. The AUCCTU and the trade unions have told the collectives and trade union organizations of the NKAO and Armenia of this position and that it is illegal to halt work as a form of political ultimatum since this runs counter to constitutional provisions and possibilities.

Why do the groups that are not working and are calling for strikes refuse to understand that they are letting down their comrades in other regions? What would they think if deliveries of products, goods, raw materials, and so forth to them, to the collectives that are not working today, were stopped?

M.S. Gorbachev: Incidentally, freight cars of food are standing idle in Stepanakert, they are not being unloaded, and meanwhile extremists are spreading rumors that people are already starving in Stepanakert. It is all being done specifically to exacerbate the situation.

For 6 months now what I have been looking for first of all in the newspapers is information from Nagorno-Karabakh, said N.A. Zlobin, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and leader of a mixed team at the "Zelenogradstroy" construction and installation production association construction administration. The truth is that the prevailing situation around Nagorno-Karabakh is not the consequence of our nationalities policy but the direct result of its distortion. One thing is straightforward: The strikes that are taking place are working against restructuring, are leading to a heated situation in mutual relations between the fraternal peoples, and are seriously complicating the search for a way out of a complex situation.

The speaker appealed directly to the working class of the two fraternal republics not to be deflected from the only correct path and to assume responsibility for the outcome of the matter. Restructuring, he stressed, is our main, vital concern, without it we have no future. The working class above all should display political maturity, a high degree of civic-mindedness, and unswerving loyalty to our socialist values.

The most complex questions of the country's life should be resolved in such a way as to cause no harm to our greatest achievement—the friendship of the Soviet peoples—said V.V. Tereshkova, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries.

In the prevailing situation, she said, many state and public organizations that failed to intervene promptly in the process which was gathering head were not up to the mark.

Supporting the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium draft resolution, the speaker emphasized once again that the solution of the problem should be effected on a firm legal and democratic basis.

How did this dramatic situation arise? USSR Supreme Soviet deputy M.A. Ibragimov, an Azerbaijani writer, began his speech with this question. The reasons are multifaceted and they have been cited here. One of the most important conclusions to be drawn from the Nagorno-Karabakh events, the speaker said, should be considered the fact that our party and soviet organs, mass media, and writers are not paying sufficient attention to manifestations of nationalism. Some people of limited intelligence have understood democracy as permissiveness. And unfortunately these people have received scope for their actions.

The speaker noted the need to resolve the problems arising in close contact with city and village inhabitants. He also pointed to the importance of enhancing the prestige of representatives of the intelligentsia among the people.

A.V. Gitalov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and leader of a tractor team at the kolkhoz named for the 20th CPSU Congress, Novoukrainskiy Rayon, Kirovograd Oblast, stressed that our common concern is the consolidation of the multinational Soviet state. He condemned those who are trying to resolve difficult problems by violent means. The only correct path for solving the problems that have accumulated, the speaker said, is each person's honest labor. The speaker urged the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia not to turn away from each other but to reach unity and agreement.

A.F. Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium, called the events in Nagorno-Karabakh a serious test of the process of the restructuring and democratization of all society. He urged the Armenian and Azerbaijani comrades to rise to an awareness of our common goals and to display wisdom and patience.

The speaker spelled out to the session participants his view of the program to eliminate the crisis situation. First of all, he said, we must get on top of the situation—that is, we must guarantee the safety of all people living in the NKAO and ensure that calm and order prevail. Then we must involve all really respected representatives of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples and all formal and informal leaders of the people in the task of working out a mutually acceptable solution. We must listen carefully to what they have to say, reach mutual understanding, and only then offer a definitive proposal.

A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR general prosecutor, drew attention to two aspects in the development of events. The first is the unconstitutional, unlawful nature of the actions of the authorities themselves, particularly in the NKAO, who are creating an apparently legal, sanctioned platform for the escalation of tension and national discord. Without detracting from the complexity of the problems which have built up around Nagorno-Karabakh, the speaker noted that he feels the decision adopted by the oblast soviet session to withdraw from the Azerbaijan SSR was wrong and unlawful.

The second aspect of the problem is that the events are developing against a background of consistent violation of law and order. Malicious hooligans and provocateurs

must be punished, but action by the courts and prosecuting bodies is an extreme measure. Such action must logically supplement public, moral, and political condemnation of extremism and violence.

A speech was then given by M.S. Gorbachev. (The speech is published on pages 1 and 2)

So-called "mob rule" and any transgression of the bounds of socialist legality and the norms of morality are a reflection of the inadequate level of political and legal culture of some people, A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said. He noted that the resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government on Nagorno-Karabakh is an excellent document guaranteeing the present and the future of NKAO working people. So what should local leaders in Azerbaijan and Armenia have done on receiving this document? They should have rolled up their sleeves and set about implementing it with enthusiasm.

The speaker emphasized that demands to transfer the NKAO from one republic to another do not accord with the USSR Constitution. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium have shown patience, restraint, and understanding of the problem. But it is primarily republic-level bodies that must concern themselves with finding a compromise.

The unhealthy developments in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, and Azerbaijan cannot fail to cause pain, G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said. Since the 19th All-Union Party Conference, he said, we delegates have been meeting with Communists and working people. And it has not been easy to answer people's blunt question: What is really going on in the Transcaucasian region?

Discussing the huge loss incurred by the country's unified economic organism as a result of the strikes that have gripped the NKAO and the Armenian SSR, the speaker said that we must now persistently and soberly solve the problems that have unfortunately been building up for many years. The role played by soviet bodies and social organizations is particularly important in this respect.

We must use all reasonable means that will rally Soviet people under the banner of restructuring rather than divide them. The USSR is our common home, our family. And, as in a family, we must solve any conflicts by using experience, good advice, and compromise.

The young people of Armenia and Azerbaijan and together with them the young people of other union republics are threatened by a serious danger. This is how V.I. Mironenko, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, began his speech. A young man infected with the bacillus of nationalism or chauvinism, he said, is spiritually dead and blind, since from then on he will look at the world through a distorting mirror and will always see the intrigues of unbelievers in everything.

Today, the speaker stated, it is a question not only of the long-standing and painful problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. It is a question of whether, overcoming difficulties, we will be able to resolve really painful issues in the national economy and the social sphere or whether we will merely count up old mistakes and grievances and increase the complex of bitterness by piling up barriers in the way of democracy and forcing the government to necessarily resort to extreme measures.

A.A. Gromyko delivered the concluding remarks.

First I would like to stress, he said, that the exchange of opinions that has taken place has revealed with the utmost clarity what seems to me to be the prime principle that must be used to examine and resolve interethnic conflicts in conditions of socialism. M.S. Gorbachev's speech clearly formulated this principle. Its essence is that we live in a multinational state and are linked by a common historical destiny, destiny in the broadest, deepest, and noblest sense of the word. Therefore interethnic relations must be improved while taking into consideration the interests of all our country's nations and ethnic groups. This improvement cannot damage our main asset—the integrity of our union and the unbreakable friendship among all the Soviet peoples. That is the first and most important point.

Second. Everyone must realize with the utmost clarity that we cannot disregard the legal aspect of the question. That is unacceptable for us above all because, having put forward and profoundly substantiated at the party conference the idea of creating a socialist law-based state and while combating violations of legality, we cannot begin implementing the conference's decisions by violating the USSR Constitution. I will recall once again the clause of Article 78 of the Constitution: "The territory of a union republic cannot be changed without its consent. The borders between union republics can be changed by mutual agreement between the relevant republics, subject to USSR ratification." Plain and simple. Not everyone has grasped this clearly. This is a reality, comrades, that we cannot and do not have the right to ignore. To build a law-based state by violating its fundamental law would be to allow a gap between words and deeds.

Third, does this mean that all the possibilities have been exhausted for seeking mutually acceptable solutions within the framework of the USSR Constitution, within the framework of democratic procedures, without pressuring the organs of state power, and without whipping up emotions? Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke well here on this topic, and other speakers also referred to it. I think there can only be one answer: No, they are not exhausted; moreover, essentially this work has hardly begun. The comrades who have spoken at the Presidium

session have cited dozens of examples confirming the correctness of this thesis. The two fraternal republics immediately took up uncompromising positions, and so a specific, creative dialogue between them, unfortunately, did not get started. It undoubtedly should have led to the adoption of mutually acceptable decisions in line with the Constitution. A desire to find a way out of seemingly hopeless situations leads to positive results even in international affairs.

I think that, if not everyone, then the majority of those present here—both members of the Presidium and representatives of the public—could have read a lecture in any auditorium on this topic citing examples from our foreign policy and from international life. But here we are talking about fraternal peoples, fine traditions, and decades of fruitful cooperation. Does all this really count for nothing? Can all this really be thrown away?

This kind of position on the part of two neighboring republics does not accord with the principles of socialist internationalism. This applies to the leadership of both Azerbaijan and Armenia. Let us not weigh up their respective blame. The republics' leadership must persuade, set the tone, be able to take the lead, and effectively counter nationalist manifestations. Where is this countering effort we are talking about? There was and there is none. But order must be imposed. It is essential to demonstrate political maturity and civic-mindedness. Nagorno-Karabakh is not a private, regional question. Today it is a worry for the entire Soviet people. People are tensely waiting and hoping that in even these conditions the friendship of the peoples will once again confirm its indestructibility. I happened to be with M.S. Gorbachev in Poland. This is the question we were asked: What have you heard, what is the news from the Caucasus, from Armenia, from Azerbaijan, from Nagorno-Karabakh? The entire country is waiting for this. The main concern now is to overcome the estrangement between the republics and take measures to stabilize the situation.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium unanimously adopted a corresponding resolution.

A large group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR was present at the Presidium session.

News Conference Held on Nagorno-Karabakh Issue

Gromyko on Aspects of Situation

LD1907180488 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—"Nagorno-Karabakh is not a local, regional issue. Today it is the concern of the whole of the Soviet people," Soviet President Andrey Gromyko said.

The president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was speaking Monday at the Presidium's meeting which considered the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh.

He said in the concluding speech following the discussions that the exchange of opinions "patently revealed the fundamental principle on which, I believe, ethnic conflicts should be considered and solved in socialist conditions".

He added that Mikhail Gorbachev's speech formulated such a fundamental principle in a clear-cut way.

Speaking about its essence, Gromyko singled out three most important aspects.

"We live in a multi-nation state and are linked by our common historical destiny in the broadest, deepest and noble sense of the word," he said.

"This is why the interests of all peoples and nationalities should be taken into account in the process of improving inter-ethnic relations.

"This process should not damage our main assets—the integrity of our union and inviolable friendship of all Soviet peoples. This is the first and main aspect.

"The second is that one cannot ignore the legal side of the matter.

"It is unacceptable for use above all because we, having advanced at the party conference a well-founded idea of creating a socialist law-based state and combatting violations of law, cannot start implementing the conferences's decisions with violating the Constitution of the USSR."

Gromyko recalled that the Constitution prohibited changing the territory of a constitutuent republic without its consent, which would have happened if the Presidium had decided on Nagorno-Karabakh's secession from Azerbaijan.

The third aspect, he said, was that far from all possibilities had been used to find a mutually acceptable solution within the framework of the Constitution and democratic procedures, without exerting pressure on state power bodies and whipping up emotions.

"The two fraternal republics immediately took irreconcilable stands. Regrettably, a specific, constructive dialogue between them was never started, whereas such a dialogue, no doubt, would have led them to mutually acceptable constitutional solutions."

"People are intensely waiting and hope that peoples' friendship will reaffirm its inviolability in these conditions too," Gromyko said.

Demichev, Others Speak

LD1907181588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jul (TASS)—A news conference devoted to various aspects of settlement of situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh was held in the Press Center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs today.

Speaking at the news conference Petr Demichev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, briefed journalists on results of a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which was held on Monday on this issue, and he read out the corresponding decision.

Petr Demichev and Aleksandr Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs, and Aleksandr Sukharev, USSR prosecutor general, who participated in the news conference, answered questions.

Petr Demichev said that representatives of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet who, in accordance with the adopted decision will go to Nagorno-Karabakh, will be given wide powers, but their work will in no way replace local organs of power. He underlined that the search of ways for solving the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] continues. In particular, it is planned to hold a CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities question. The proposal heard at the Presidium session to increase the NKAO status to autonomous republic has not been taken off the agenda and is being studied carefully.

Aleksandr Vlasov said that no special security measures on Nagorno-Karabakh will be taken if law is not violated there. He described claims of a "blockade" of Nagorno-Karabakh, which had allegedly taken place, as unobjective. The subunits of the internal troops, which had been brought in at the request of the oblast leadership, were keeping public order and preventing hooligan outbursts.

Journalists showed great interest in the disorders at Yerevan Airport. According to the Soviet minister of internal affairs, about 3,000 soldiers and student internal troops were put into action to restore order. He refuted claims alleging that, at the time of the events at the airport, one person was killed by a plastic bullet. In actual fact, Vlasov said, one person was killed that day in another district during a hooligan attack on a vehicle carrying a group of servicemen, and another died as a result of a heart attack.

The heads of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR assured the foreign journalists that the refusal to grant them the opportunity at the present time to visit Armenia and Azerbaijan was prompted exclusively by the interests of ensuring their own safety. There had not been and were not any other reasons, they stressed.

To the question as to whether many of the participants in the strikes in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh had been arrested, the answer was brief: nobody. Aleksandr Sukharev pointed out in this connection that Soviet law did not provide for repressive measures against participants in strikes.

Further Demichev Remarks

LD1907171388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jul (TASS)—The events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh go beyond the framework of the two republics and touch upon the fundamental interests of the whole Soviet people, Petr Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium stated today.

He spoke today at a news conference on the results of Monday's USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting, which discussed the question of the decisions of the Supreme Soviets of the Armenian SSR on Nagorno-Karabakh.

Petr Demichev said that an unprecedented situation had arisen in Nagorno-Karabakh: The Supreme Soviets of two union republics occupied opposing positions on one question. These positions were also reflected in the speeches by the chairmen of the Supreme Soviet Presidiums of Armenia and Azerbaijan at the Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting.

"The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh has definite, historical roots, he went on. The historical aspect of the problem is highly contradictory, so many scientists have not yet arrived at a common view on a number of its basic moments. This is explained by the very complex ethnic and nationalties' composition of the Transcaucasian region, the dynamics of the birth and break-up of various state formations, and the aggressive policy in which peoples of this region were subjected to national and social oppression and even mass extermination." [quotation marks as received]

The concern the deputies voiced at the Presidium session over extremist elements today carrying out activities which undermine the friendship between Azerbaijani and Armenian people which has been created during the period of the Soviet power, is fully justified, Petr Demichev said. Events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh have caused serious economic harm not only to Azerbaijan and Armenia but to other regions of the country as well.

Petr Demichev stressed that during the Presidium meeting, feelings of increased responsibility and readiness for active cooperation for a joint search for a solution to the problems that have arisen, were heard distinctly. Every people and every nation must stand on guard of the

sacred law of friendship. Only in this way can every Soviet person feel he is a free citizen in our country, regardless of his national identity or his place of residence.

It is now necessary to consistently implement practical measures for Nagorno-Karabakh's economic, social, and cultural development. It is also necessary to strengthen guarantees that these measures will indeed be implemented rather than remaining just routine promises. "It is necessary to direct the force of Soviet laws against organizers of provocations and disturbances," Petr Demichev said. "It is necessary to open people's eyes and to tell them the truth and show that it is corrupted elements, opponents of restructuring and democrarization that stand behind organization of the disturbances," he said.

Vlasov, Sukharev Optimistic

LD1907195688 Moscow in English to Great Britian and Ireland 1900 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] A news conference has been held in Moscow to look into the outcome of the session of the Presidium of the Soviet legislature. The minister of the interior, Andrey Vlasov, expressed confidence that the strikes would come to an end soon in both Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia, and life there would return to normal. He said he had encouraging news from Armenia. The procurator general, Aleksandr Sukharev, pointed out that the highest hopes were being pinned on public opinion. The country's central bodies, he said, had received many letters from Armenians outraged by the extremist actions of some of their countrymen, and asking for checking of these actions.

Sukharev on Possible Curfew

AU1907173588 Paris AFP in English 1642 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 19 (AFP)—Soviet authorities may impose a curfew in the Armenian and Azerbaijan republics if unrest in the region is not quickly brought under control, Soviet Attorney General Aleksandr Sukharev said Tuesday.

"If there are farther demonstrations, we could take recourse to constitutional rights or, if not, to enacting a curfew", Mr. Sukharev said during a press conference here.

Mr. Sukharev's reference to "constitutional rights" was viewed by observers as an implicit threat to use Soviet troops and local police forces to quell the disturbances.

Tempering his remarks, Mr. Sukharev said: "The situation is not that bad—there are political solutions and we need these other solutions."

Petr Demichev, first vice-president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, said that Soviet security forces "will not intervene (in the region) unless it is to act against demonstrations."

Mr. Demichev added that local television stations in Armenia had broadcast reports of a ruling on Monday by the presidium which rejected Armenian demands for the reincorporation of Nagorno-Karabakh into Armenia.

Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region within the borders and under the government of the Azerbaijan Republic since 1923, has a majority ethnic Armenian population.

Mr. Demichev however did not rule out an eventual change in the territory's status, and said that a special committee which will be appointed to study the Nagorno-Karabakh issue could still recommend that the region become its own autonomous republic.

The text of Monday's Presidium decision, which was published by the news agency TASS on Tuesday, called on national and local government authorities to "take the necessary measures" to put an end to unrest in the region.

Earlier in the week it was reported that Soviet troop reinforcements had been sent to Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, which has become the focal point of public demonstrations and strikes in support of Armenian claims on the territory.

Further on Unrest in Azerbaijan, Armenia

Crowd Gathers in Yerevan

AU1907203688 Paris AFP in English 2022 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 19 (AFP)—Several hundred thousand demonstrators gathered late Tuesday in Yerevan, the Armenian capital, for approximately one hour following a decision Monday by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to reject Armenian demands concerning Nagorno-Karabakh, a witness interviewed by telephone said.

"It was the largest gathering I have seen since the demonstrations (in the city) began," the witness said.

He added that the demonstration broke up as protesters returned to their homes to watch television coverage of the Presidium's debate on the disputed territory.

Several local Communist Party officials attempted to address the rally but were prevented from doing so by jeering from the crowd, the witness said.

The protesters criticized statements made Sunday by Yerevan party chief Levon Saakyan, who reportedly blamed the 11 members of the Karabakh Committee for unrest in the city.

The committee, which was officially disbanded in March, has spearheaded Armenian demands that Nagorno-Karabakh be reincorporated into Armenia.

The territory, which has a majority ethnic Armenian population, is located within the neighboring Azerbaijan Republic and has been under Azerbaijan government control since 1923.

Yerevan 'Quiet So Far'

LD2007083188 Hamburg DPA in German 0814 GMT 20 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, (DPA)—The Armenians have apparently so far reacted to the announcement by the leadership in Moscow that it would see to law and order in the Soviet Republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan in a wait-and-see manner. A representative of Armenian news agency ARMENPRESS today told DPA by telephone that it was "quiet so far" in the Armenian capital, Yerevan. People were going to work. A rally was planned for this evening. [passage omitted]

Yerevan Party Chief Interviewed

PM1907121588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondents S. Bablumyan and P. Gutiontov dispatch: "Yerevan, 18 July"]

[Text] Yerevan—Our dispatch today is perhaps the first since the onset of the dramatic events in Yerevan that does not begin with a description of damage caused by the strike. On Monday morning, it was literally plain to see that Yerevan was returning to its normal labor pace.

We met with M. Minasbekyan, first secretary of the Yerevan Party Gorkom, shortly after he returned to his office following an early morning tour of the city.

[Bablumyan, Gutiontov] Which enterprises have you just visited, Mikhail Sergeyevich?

[Minasbekyan] I haven't called on any enterprises yet. My main concern since early morning was whether the city transport would be working. We have already seen that if the transport is working, everything will work. All the transport is working today. Judging by reports that are now coming in from enterprises, the situation there is better than we expected. Virtually everyone has reported for work.

[Bablumyan, Gutiontov] During all this time, which has been far from easy for Yerevan, there have been people who did not abandon their work places. Might it probably be worth naming the Communists who did not succumb to emotions and remained loyal to their duty, party duty and work duty alike?

[Minasbekyan] Let me say at once that all the continuous production cycle plants, medical institutions, and all food industry enterprises continued to operate without interruptions all this time.... Therefore, I will name only those who had to display not only a sense of responsibility but also a certain courage, in other words, those who work in enterprises whose collectives took part in the strike. Here are just a few names. B. Mkhitaryan, arc welder at the "Zakavkazkabel" Association; P. Gasparyan, heat specialist at the electrical equipment plant; G. Galfayan and G. Mirzoyan, workers at the same enterprise; Z. Arzumanyan, team leader at the silk combine; drivers S. Saakyan and A. Kazaryan; motorman B. Melikyan from the No 1 Streetcar Depot. They all are Communists, each of whom has worked for over 20 years. I thank them.

[Bablumyan, Gutiontov] May we ask you this. As we know, the rally organizers called for party organizations to hold meetings prior to the start of the workday today to condemn some gorkom Bureau decisions....

[Minasbekyan] Yes, there were calls to this effect. Toward the end of last week, the gorkom Bureau expelled one of the "Karabakh" Committee leaders from the party, and at Saturday's rally, it was claimed that we had allegedly done this in gross violation of the CPSU Statutes. Speaking on republic television yesterday, I explained that people referring to Article 10 of the Statute "have overlooked" the preceding Article 9. It is that article which contains the provision which gives a superior party organ the right to punish a Communist and subsequently notify the primary organization. Unfortunately, the primary organization at No 183 School where the expelled person works—also without studying the Statutes—adopted a decision condemning the gorkom, and this decision was also read at the rally. This confused many people. I assume that any confusion has dispersed by today: We are not in breach of the Party Statutes.

[Bablumyan, Gutiontov] It is only a few days since your election as gorkom first secretary. We are aware of the questions you have to solve today. But how about tomorrow? Do you have a program for the future when, let's hope, the situation will be back to normal?

[Minasbekyan] For a very long time, we got carried away by global plans. Just look at some of the documents—it takes your breath away. But for some reason we never progressed further than the wonderful plans.... This is why I am convinced that, in the first place, it is necessary to precisely and clearly define the most important tasks, the solution of which must be tackled by all and sundry,

as it were. As far as Yerevan is concerned, these are water supply, the housing problem, environmental protection, transportation, the struggle against corruption....

We are now drawing up such a program. We are, moreover, striving to ensure that all gorkom members without exception play a part in this work, that each one of them submits his proposals and remarks. By mid-August, when I think the draft will be ready, we will publish it in the press and, if necessary, will discuss it at rallies. We will thus define the priority avenues, since in today's conditions, it would be unrealistic to tackle everything at once.

[Babiumyan, Gutiontov] What is your attitude toward the rallies which appear to have become one of Yerevan's features today?

[Minasbekyan] We not only do not condemn the rallies themselves as a form of expressing public opinion and amplifying positions in open dispute; we perceive them as something natural. But, of course, we are in favor of rallies which are held within the framework of the law, in a democratic atmosphere, when any participant may express his point of view; rallies which pose no threat to public order or cause disruptions in transport. You see, we also perceive some important and positive features in what is happening in Yerevan now: There is a gigantic explosion of social activeness by the population, and we will achieve a lot if we can channel it along constructive tracks. I wish to stress: The Armenian people have been and will remain an internationalist people, a working people.

[Babiumyan, Gutiontov] You used the word "channel." How do you intend to do this?

[Minasbekyan] Yes, of course, some party officials are not used to talking to people, and when the first rallies were held, they drew up "plans for immediate measures" in their offices. But when they at last got out of their offices it appeared that many of them had nothing to say and were not held in people's esteem.... But this situation is also useful to a certain degree: It has clearly shown who is who, on whom we can rely.

I have mentioned the tremendous positive potential of social activeness. But in order to maintain the level of this activeness, it is necessary to create in the first place an atmosphere of social justice in the city. I'll say it bluntly, this is still a complex job; a lot has been neglected here. But unless people see that there has been some progress, we will not achieve any success.

Furthermore, only an open discussion of acute and "awkward" questions can be effective. For example, while today we are still talking to bribe-takers at Bureau sessions, behind closed doors, tomorrow this will be brought out in the open at a rally, for all honest people to see.

[Babiumyan, Gutiontov] What is your attitude toward press reports on events in Yerevan, including IZVESTIYA items?

[Minasbekyan] Pardon my bluntness, but it seems to me that the reports that are published are often incomplete and biased.

You see, one of the main avenues in our work today is the struggle against rumors. After all, we can see for ourselves that they do not appear out of nowhere; they are skillfully and purposefully produced by someone. It is no accident that all this time I have not heard a single good rumor. As for absurdities—as many as you like.... It must be said that not a single serviceman of those who were injured at the airport is still in the hospital. There are two civilians left in the hospital, and they will be discharged soon.

Tomorrow we are inaugurating a new local television program—a gorkom secretary and a gorispolkom deputy chairman will appear in turn on a live twice-weekly program. Their task will be to supply information and answer questions on a direct telephone line which will be installed in the studio. I am convinced that this will also be useful.

[Babiumyan, Gutiontov] And one last question. What does the gorkom first secretary's workday look like now?

[Minasbekyan] It starts at 0700 hours in the morning and ends at 0300 hours the next morning.... The "daylight period" is mainly taken up by meetings with people.

Economic Damage Noted

PM1907124188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 Jul 88 p 4

[Own correspondent N. Ordinyan dispatch: "Yerevan, 18 July"]

[Text] Thousands of threads link industrial enterprises in Yerevan and other cities in the republic with the country's industry. Here is just one example. The failure to deliver the 15-kopek capacitators normally produced here has halted the production of color television sets in other cities. The sad consequence of the strike is that customers have not received hundreds of machine tools, thousands of electric motors, transformers, generators, mobile power generators, compressors, and millions of rubles worth of consumer goods.

The Yerevan "Armelektromash," "Zakavkazkabel," and "Elektropribor" Associations, the "Armkhimmash" machine tool plant named for F. Dzerzhinskiy, and other Armenian enterprises are facing payments of more than R8 million in fines for failure to meet contract commitments, which will place them in an extremely difficult financial situation. The damage inflicted on partner enterprises—hundreds of plants and factories throughout the country—is simply incalculable.

The damage inflicted by the strike on the inhabitants of Yerevan themselves was described on Armenian television by M. Minasbekyan, first secretary of the Yerevan party gorkom. Each of the strikers has lost an average of R100 in wages and during these days the city has failed to obtain 350 apartments, places in schools for 276 pupils, 190 kindergarten and creche places, and 150 hospital beds.

And this is in Yerevan, where 37,000 people are on waiting lists for housing and where there is an acute shortage of schools and children's establishments, hospitals, and sociocultural facilities.

Statistics will determine the losses down to the last ruble and kopek. But how can the damage caused to the prestige of the republic and the reputation of the hard-working Armenian people be calculated? This is the theme of articles in the republic press by V. Khachatryan, driver at the Zangezurskiy copper and molybdenum combine and delegate to the 19th all-union party conference; G. Stepanyan, honored teacher of the republic; A. Makaryan, an agricultural worker in Akhuryanskiy Rayon's Dzhadzhur village; A. Khachatryan, "Polivinilatsetat" Association party committee secretary; M. Abegyan, Armenian SSR People's Artist; Academician G. Novozhilov, chief designer and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy from the Martuninskiy Electoral Okrug; and many others.

A conference was held at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee 15 July to examine the question of the serious situation which has developed in the republic and draw up urgent measures to normalize this situation as swiftly as possible.

Before submitting this report to the editorial office, I made inquiries at the party gorkom. On Monday 18 July all the Armenian capital's labor collectives were working.

Moscovites Criticize Yerevan Events

PM1907134988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 Jul 88 p 4

[V. Kiselev street interviews under the rubric "Today's Interview": "No One Can Split the Fraternal Union"—first paragraph is SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] It has become traditional for our newspaper to approach people on the capital's Leningradskiy Prospect and to discuss the most burning problems with them. Today's interviews are devoted to events in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia.

S. Krasnopevtseva, dial printer at the "No 2 Watch and Clock Plant" production association engineering and assembly shop:

I have been working at the plant for almost quarter of a century, but I do not recall a time when we have been in such a difficult situation. At some shops work has stopped altogether; others are barely ticking over. In a few days, our wages are due. And you know, it will be humiliating. We worked it out in our shop; everyone stands to lose about R90. Yet we all have families and children. Our suppliers in Yerevan have let us down, specifically the "Sapfir" production association, which has failed to supply us with the goods we need. That is why the assembly shop is idling. And consequently other shops, too. I go on printing my dials, but then what? There are stacks of components lying around already. But no clocks and watches are reaching the shops.

We working people value actions more than words. But the actions, putting it mildly, are not very good. The strikes in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh are hitting hard, but not just that republic and the autonomous oblast in Azerbaijan. Many labor collectives throughout the country are losing out on wages and are having to wait longer for apartments and kindergartens. After all, the Yerevan, Stepanakert, and Lenkoran plants and factories are not independent entities. Their goods are needed thousands of kilometers away. Disruption in just one component of the economic chain inevitably has negative consequences in many parts of the country.

Who stands to gain by this? This is a question which everyone should be asking themselves, and answering honestly. The destabilization of the country's economic life plays, above all, into the hands of the enemies of restructuring. A great number of problems have accumulated, many urgent tasks are waiting to be resolved. The radical economic reform about which we are talking is not progressing all that smoothly, and we are only just beginning to learn democracy. After all, we are trying to pull ourselves out of the mire of stagnation. And suddenly someone is trying to trip us up. Who is it? It is our comrades, our class brothers. I believe that the wholesome forces among the Armenian people will gain the upper hand. People will work out what's what, who are their true friends, and who merely pretend to be, while pushing them over the brink.

Soviet Army Senior Lieutenant O. Palkin, winner of the Order of the Red Star:

Frankly speaking, what is happening has shocked me. After all, we have been raised on internationalism. Our strength lies in unity. There is no need to go on about this.

I fought in Afghanistan, was wounded, spent more than enough time in various hospitals, and am still not fully back in harness. For me, internationalism is not an abstract concept. While dushmans were blowing up schools, Soviet servicemen were helping to rebuild the ruins. While bandits were killing totally innocent civilians, our convoys fought their way through ambushes to deliver food, fuel, and medicines to remote villages. We

did not spare our blood to ensure a future for our neighbor. A few days ago, I saw on television the heap of knives, axes, heavy chains, and knuckledusters with which the agitated crowd had armed itself when marching on Zvartnots Airport. I read that the inhabitants of Armenia are handing over home-made pistols and grenades to the law enforcement organs. Do they think these are toys? Do they think you can play with weapons?

In Afghanistan they called us "shuravi" (Soviets)—some of them with hatred, but most of them with respect. This is what we felt we were—plenipotentiary representatives of our country. In my motorized rifle platoon, there were Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Azeris, Tajiks, Turkmenians, and Uzbeks. But there was never the least misunderstanding on grounds of nationality. When I was seriously wounded, the guys protected me with their own bodies. No one hid; no one tried to sit it out.

This is what internationalism means to me; it is one of the most sacred concepts that exist. An irresponsible little group of people from the so-called "Karabakh" committee, taking refuge behind speculative slogans and manipulating the consciousness of thousands of people, cannot be allowed to trample this concept underfoot.

Baku Notes Session

NC2007081088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 19 Jul 88

[From "The Republican Press Review"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium convened under Comrade Gromyko on 18 July and examined the decisions adopted by the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Pogosyan, chairman of the Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast party committee, briefed the convocation. Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as other speakers, also addressed the convocation.

A large group of deputies from Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR participated in the meeting. The materials [materialleri] of the meeting and the decision adopted by the residium will be published in the press. [sentence indistinct]

Armenian National Expelled From Soviet Union

LD2007131088 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 20 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 20 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR has decided to strip Armenian nationalist Paruyr Ayrikyan [name as received] of Soviet citizenship and expel him from the country after releasing him, by way of a pardon, from criminal responsibility.

It said in a decree published here today that his citizenship has been taken away "for actions discrediting the high title of a citizen of the USSR and harming the prestige of the Soviet Union."

Ayrikyan, 39, has engaged in fomenting ethnic strife since his youth, according to a report in the newspaper PRAVDA.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted against him thrice before—on two occasions for anti-Soviet activities and on the third one for bribing an official.

In the beginning of 1987 Ayrikyan was discharged from prison and kept a low profile for a time being.

But as soon as there developed a tense situation relating to Nagorno-Karabakh, he drew on his criminal experience to rally nationalist-minded people round him and appointed himself the chieftain of two nationalist groups, to which he gave pompous names, at the same time.

The former convict banked on intercession and assistance from certain reactionary quarters in the West, which are interested in stirring up interethnic dissension, provoking a crisis in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh and weakening and subverting the existing system in the USSR from inside.

He shuttled between Yerevan and Moscow, feeding "reports" based on concoctions to some of the Western mass media.

Armenia's law enforcement authorities arrested Ayrikyan last spring for his active instigation to interethnic strife, which is a criminal offense in the USSR.

Investigation Into March Hijacking Complete

Family Members Charged

LD1907121788 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—The Soviet Procurator's Office has finished investigation into the case of attempted hijacking aboard of the TU-154 passenger airliner by members of the Ovechkin family.

Igor and Olga Ovechkin were charged with taking a decision together with other members of the family in early 1988 to hijack an aircraft out of the USSR and taking part in implementing this criminal plan on March 8 this year.

While aboard an airliner flying from Irkutsk to Leningrad via Kurgan, the Ovechkin brothers—Aleksandr, Vasiliy, Dmitriy, Oleg and Igor—together with sister

Olga and mother Ninel Ovechkin threatened to use fire-arms and set off a home-made explosive device unless the plane change course and land outside the USSR.

Despite the threats, the crew landed the airliner at a Soviet airfield near the city of Vybord.

With the aim of compelling the crew to take off immediately and fly across the state border of the USSR, the Ovechkins killed air hostess Tamara Zharkaya, whom they had taken hostage, and fired weapons in the passenger cabin and on the cockpit's door.

After realizing their criminal plan had no hope of succeeding, the Ovechkins set off the explosive device, causing a fire in the cabin. Four of the brothers then committed suicide after first shooting their mother dead at her request.

The actions of the Ovechkin family caused the deaths of the air hostess and three passengers. The fire destroyed a Tupolev-154 airliner. The material damage suffered by the state amounted to 1,371,948 roubles.

The case of the Ovechkins was sent to court.

Justice Official on Details

LD1907170188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Excerpts] The USSR Procurator's Office has completed the investigation into the case of the attempted hijacking of a TU-154 passenger airliner by members of the Ovechkin family. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov reports: [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Fedorov] I asked (Nikolay Leontyevich Podsayev), an official of the USSR Procurator's office and a senior counsellor of justice, to speak about some of the details:

[Podsayev] Criminal proceedings have been instituted against Olga Dmitrievna Ovechkina, born in 1960, and Igor Dmitriyevich Ovechkin, born 1971. [passage omitted] The maximum punishment envisaged is up to 15 years imprisonment or the death sentence. [passage omitted]

[Fedorov] How has the question been resolved of the baggage examination group at Irkutsk Airport, which allowed the criminals to take through such a quantity of arms?

[Podsayev] The material on the Irkutsk Airport employees is to be dealt with in a separate criminal case, and the question of their responsibility will be decided after the full investigation of this episode has been completed.

[Fedorov] A last question, (Nikolay Leontyevich): When the plane was hijacked, as we know 4 people were killed and 35 were injured. Did the strike group which arrived from Leningrad operate professionally?

[Podsayev] In our view,s not entirely. The investigation has serious claims to make about the work of this group. Whether this group could have prevented the grave consequences is the subject of particular investigation which is still incomplete. [end recording]

Economic

Soviet Economist Advocates Free Market Economy

AU1907091888 Vienna PROFIL in German No 29/18 Jul 88 pp 31-33

[Interview with Professor Valentin Fedorov, a Soviet "radical advocate of the free market economy," by Michael Siegert in Moscow, date not given: "The Taste of Money"]

[Excerpts] Siegert: Professor Fedorov, what is Soviet economic reform heading for?

Fedorov: Nobody can answer that. First of all we need new economic thinking. In politics, such new thinking already exists. In economic science, there has been no convincing program so far. During the period of stagnation, growth rates decreased. In order to increase economic growth, we have made some cutbacks in the social sphere. However, it should be the other way round.

Siegert: What was wrong?

Fedorov: We have made three mistakes so far: Originally, it was thought that the economy could be controlled by force and orders. This proved to be ineffective. Then we tried it with reason, that is to say, with the plan. We thought we could scientifically determine the proportions. The State Planning Committee (Gosplan) is a gigantic institution which knows everything! And what have we got from it? (He makes a disparaging gesture.) At the moment we are exploiting morals: Alcoholism and environmental pollution are immoral in socialism—this is what our economic preachers say. But this did not take us anywhere either. Now there is only one recipe left for us to try out—freedom. Freedom for all economic subjects!

Siegert: Interesting. What should this look like?

Fedorov: We from the Plekhanov Institute advocate a territorial experiment. So far, there have only been experiments in certain economic branches, which did gain us some advantages, but which also led us astray. The enterprises involved had preference in everything they received. Their orders were marked in large letters: Attention, experiment! State and party organs took special care of these projects. However, when all enterprises were switched over to these methods, the old situation

returned. In Siberia we now want to try out an economy that is free from all ministerial regulations. The only limitation will be the Constitution—everything will be permitted.

Siegert: Such as what?

Fedorov: Free trade with means of production has to be introduced, retail and wholesale prices must be able to move freely. If somebody wants to build a house, he should be free to do so, and if he wants to establish a cooperative, ditto. If he does not have enough money, then he should establish a stock corporation. Since stocks have to be traded, a stock exchange has to be set up—a capital market. And full freedom of travel for all individuals.

Siegert: This sounds almost revolutionary! Do you think there is any chance at all for something like this here?

Fedorov: After I published my proposal in a special journal last year, it appeared in KOMSOMOLKAYA PRAVDA this year on 12 May. The city of Uzhgorod immediately declared itself ready to carry out the experiment. However, we do not want this, because it is a relatively well-developed city and because we want a larger area. We will lease all of Siberia!

Siegert: But you already have an economic institute of the Academy of Sciences there, which has influence at the very top.

Fedorov: Please, do not annoy me by mentioning it. What have they done, and who headed it? I am not going to mention the name, everybody knows it anyway. (Footnote) (Fedorov is alluding to Abel Aganbegyan, chief economic adviser to Gorbachev.) They mechanically applied the ineffective methods of economic management from the Western part of the Soviet Union to the Eastern part, and thus ecologically and economically ruined Siberia. I am a Siberian from Yakkutsk and I worked there for 20 years; I know that.

Siegert: One of your biggest problems is agriculture. Do you have a remedy for it, too?

Fedorov: The kolkhozes can be divided into smaller units or completely abolished if the people want that. We could lease out the entire agriculture to families. We want to gradually rear the Soviet farmer. If we wanted to reintroduce private property in the USSR, many would be against it.

Siegert: Because then they would really have to work?

Fedorov: Exactly. [passage omitted]

Siegert: Recently, you have adopted from us the negative things. In the USSR, too, there is concentration of capital, a concentration of power at the top. Enterprises are being merged into production associations, kolkhozes into agro-industrial complexes, villages into agrocities. The resulting medium-level management growth is obviously designed to take up the flow of public servants, who are dismissed from the central ministries. Lately, there has also been a countertrend: Smaller units, cooperatives, and family leases in the countryside are being encouraged.

Fedorov: This latest trend is the right one. We have to get out of the Guinness Book of Records. There you can read that the Soviet Union is the country with the greatest number of large-scale enterprises. This is unproductive.

Siegert: They compete with Western monopolies.

Fedorov: They compete and lose! However, we must win; which is what every normal person wants to do.

Siegert: By adopting the model of a socialist market economy you will be confronted with other problems of the West too, such as inflation and unemployment. Even today, experts estimate your unemployment rate at 1.5 percent.

Fedorov: This is not high enough! Unfortunately, I do not know the correct figure.

Siegert: No figures have been published in this regard?

Fedorov: Of course not! What do you think?

Siegert: But statistics are supposed to become more transparent, are they not?

Fedorov: Well, let us hope so. But it has not happened until now. [passage omitted]

Siegert: The ruble is increasingly giving in to the hard currencies. All the better-quality goods are imported and can be bought only in the "berezhka" foreign currency shops. If the government itself undertakes such deals, it admits that its economic policy has failed.

Fedorov: This is unacceptable to me, too. Something has to be changed. The only effective means is to make the ruble convertible.

Siegert: So you want to hop into the world currency boat and join in the floating? [preceding word in English]

Fedorov: Yes, and then we shall be in for something! We are already in the middle of a currency crisis. We shall experience revaluation and devaluation of the ruble, currency interventions—everything we have criticized the West for until now. Convertibility cannot be introduced overnight, though. A currency is as strong or as weak as its economy. Thus, we must begin with the quality of our products. [passage omitted]

Siegert: What would be your answer to the following conservative criticism: Just take Hungary, Poland, and especially Yugoslavia—they have inflation, sometimes even unemployment and strikes. There you can see where your reforms will take you! The Soviet Politburo has had good reasons to postpone the price reform, it is reluctant to take the first step in this direction.

Fedorov: We will just have to find our own model rather than merely imitate the Yugoslav one. As to unemployment, unlike in your country in each district we have an office which takes care of the people. We are a gigantic country, we have many intelligent people and we can find our own solutions.

Siegert: What other ideas do you have, apart from leasing Siberia?

Fedorov: We have taken charge of our university here ourselves, and practice self-financing. We tell the government that we do not need any of its money.

Siegert: Every education minister will be glad to hear that.

Fedorov: Not every one. He loses his power! This is why we are looked upon with mixed feelings.

Siegert: How do you make your money?

Fedorov: By "selling" graduates to enterprises, for example. Let us say for 20,000 rubles—this is the cost of tuition, plus a 20-percent profit. We also train managers here and work as advisors for factories. When I put an advertisement to that effect in a newspaper, I had 30 people calling me the next morning: Please, help us! We have debts and we will be shut down otherwise. Now we are even planning to take over an enterprise. I have been doing research for 20 years, now I want to put my knowledge into practice. [passage omitted]

Siegert: How are you going to implement your model?

Fedorov: This will require a political decision at the very top. Once this decision is made, we shall discuss matters with the people. As a liberal, I do not believe in coercion, everything will have to be done voluntarily.

Meeting Stresses Deepening of Economic Reform

PM1407135588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "New-Style Economic Management"]

[Text] A conference on questions of deepening economic reform in light of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions was held in the CPSU Central Committee Economic Department 8 July.

Taking part in the conference were senior officials from the apparatus of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the AUCCTU, and sector ministries, leaders of enterprises and associations, and leaders of economically accountable teams.

The conference was opened by V. Mozhin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Economic Department. There was a discussion of problems and experience of work in the new conditions of economic management and of the advantages of progressive forms of economic accountability which are more fully in line with economic methods of management and ensure direct links between working people's wages and the end results of their work, the intensification of their interest in resource saving, and the development of internal economic accountability and self-management in production.

The conference participants focused attention mainly on the quest for acceptable solutions which would eliminate obstacles preventing the dissemination of these progressive forms of economic management. They primarily include the improvement of the state order system, the development of wholesale trade, the elimination of wage leveling, better information for labor collectives on the advantages of various options of economic management, the close interlinkage of cadres' economic training and practical tasks, and the abolition of outdated instructions. The question of guaranteeing working people's social security in the conditions of work on the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing was also examined.

Opinions were expressed at the conference about the need for better methodological backup for the transition of enterprises and associations to the second model of economic accountability offered by the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), the further development of leasing contracts in various sectors of the national economy, the generalization of positive experience in this sphere, and broader press coverage of this experience.

Housing Construction Tasks Debated

PM1507141188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Foundation of Construction"]

[Text] Questions of the fulfillment of the program of housing, cultural, and consumer construction were discussed at a 14 July session of the USSR Gosstroy.

In order to resolve the most important social task posed at the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference of providing every family with an individual apartment or house by the year 2000, we will have to build no less than 2.5 billion square meters of housing. Most of the speakers stressed that in order to fulfill such

high volumes it will be necessary to renew the sector's material base, increase construction industry capacity, and develop progressive housing construction methods. However, as was noted at the session, ministries dealing with the construction complex have not yet achieved a radical improvement in developing their production base.

The acceleration of housing construction should also be promoted by the extensive utilization at the sector's construction sites and enterprises of the lease contract and production sharing, and by the development of individual and cooperative housing construction.

Taking part in the session's work were Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy; A.G. Melnikov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department; deputy chairmen of union republic Councils of Ministers, and leaders of construction ministries and departments.

Slyunkov Speaks on Machine Building Tasks

PM1407095988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on 9 July CPSU Central Committee Conference on restructuring machine building: "Conference in the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A conference held in the party Central Committee 9 July examined questions of structural policy and priority avenues in machine building. Taking part were directors, experts, and scientists from leading enterprises, scientific research institutes and design bureaus within the machine building complex, ministers and leaders of central organs, secretaries of union republic communist party central committees, and secretaries of kraykoms, obkoms, and ministry party committees.

The conference was opened by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

A week has passed since the conclusion of the 19th all-union party conference, he said. History has yet to fully assess the importance of this event in the life of the party and the state.

But the main point is already clear—the conference organically combined Leninism with the revolutionary cause of restructuring and the creativity of the people's masses. For all the diversity of views, approaches, and opinions, the conference turned into a genuine forum of like-minded Communists. We all are participants in the new epoch of revolutionary revival.

Economic problems occupied a significant part of the conference's work.

The results of the last 2 years give grounds for saying that the development of the national economy has accelerated somewhat. The old expenditure-driven mechanism is being dismantled. But in order to accelerate the national economy's transition to intensive tracks it is necessary to implement the entire package of economic reform measures in practice.

Effective structural policy is the key question in creating a highly dynamic intensive economy and boosting its flexibility and its responsiveness to scientific and technical progress. Positive structural changes in the national economy must be effected through the preferential development of complexes and sectors which guarantee a rapid pace of scientific and technical revolution.

Machine building is the main such complex. It was assigned a key role during the elaboration of the economic concept of restructuring.

The machine building complex was set the following tasks for the current 5-year plan period:

To ensure that 90 percent of the most important types of equipment it manufactures meet world standards by 1990, and that all 100 percent do so by 1993.

To achieve a 13-percent level of output renewal by the end of the 5-year plan period.

To reduce the time taken to develop and assimilate new equipment by a factor of 3-4 by 1990 compared with 1985. For this purpose, the relative proportion of investment in the research and development base must be increased to not less than 8 percent.

The tasks include developing and consolidating the scientific, technical, production, and cadre potential of machine building, substantially renewing operational fixed capital, and expanding the complex's potential and its flexibility in the solution of current and long-term problems.

The scale and complexity of these tasks are obvious. We are already halfway through the 5-year plan period. Analyzing its preliminary results in machine building, it has to be noted that there has been some advance.

The renewal of output has been accelerated from 3.1 to 9.0 percent. Production rates have increased. In the total volume of most important types of output the proportion of products meeting world standards has increased from 23 percent in 1985 to 55 percent this year. The volume of investments has grown. The sum actually invested during the 2 years amounts to R17 billion, 30 percent more than in the corresponding period of the 11th 5-Year Plan. A sum of R1.5 billion has been invested in the development of the scientific and experimental base, which is 50 percent more than during the entire previous 5-year plan period.

But all this cannot conceal the fact that the acceleration of the development of machine building and the renewal of its material and technical base are not progressing at the pace set by the 5-year plan targets and the modernization program.

With all this in mind, it is now necessary to discuss what has to be done to ensure that machine building copes successfully with the large-scale tasks set to it.

A report was then delivered by I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building. The central idea in his report was the need to concentrate all resources and intellectual, scientific, and production potential on tasks whose solution is crucial for the fullest provision of new-generation equipment for the key sectors of social production.

He spoke about the implementation of the 44 priority avenues selected jointly by consumers and producers on the basis of the economic interrelationships which are now taking shape. They include the development of the latest equipment for the agro-industrial, social, construction-industry, fuel and energy, and other complexes and the production of consumer goods.

Investments are being restructured, economic departments have made the necessary decisions, and preliminary calculations of control figures, state orders, and limits are being worked out for next year's draft plan in conformity with these structural changes.

The report criticized the leaders of a number of ministries and enterprises for sluggishness in restructuring in the most important sectors of scientific, technical, economic, and production activity.

Various aspects of the active improvement of structural and investment policy and measures to accelerate the development of machine building in the conditions of democratization of economic life were examined in the speeches by USSR Ministers O.G. Anfimov, V.M. Velichko, N.A. Panichev, and M.S. Shkabardnya; I.M. Bortnik, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology; B.I. Fomin, chairman of the Board of the "Energomash" Intersector State Association (Leningrad); S.I. Gurenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; O.A. Korolev, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; Ye.A. Brakov, general director of the I.A. Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant (ZIL Production Association); V.M. Vologzhin, general director of Lvov's "Konveyer" Production Association; S.V. Kleymenov, chairman of the labor collective council at the Volga Association for the Production of Cars (Avtovaz); K.V. Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and V.A. Shurinov, general designer of the "Gomselmash" Production Association.

Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy, who spoke next, said that structural changes in machine building are impossible to achieve without reorienting investment policy. The 1988 contracts campaign, he noted, showed that ministries and departments underrated the economic consequences of delayed provision of finance and conclusion of contracts with construction enterprises in the conditions created by the operation of the new economic mechanism and the USSR Law on the State Enterprise. Consequently, the USSR Council of Ministers had to provide numerous clarifications and amendments. Many have failed to draw conclusions from the lessons of the past. The situation is also developing along similar lines in the current year.

It is necessary to change the attitude of machine building ministries toward questions of planning plants and deciding on the production units needed by the sector. In the conditions of the new system of economic management, and in connection with the further increase in the volume of work for the machine building complex, it is necessary to give special attention to the economic effectiveness of the technological and technical solutions now being applied in plans.

Reference was made to the need to radically change the principles for drawing up plans for construction projects within the machine building complex, singling out priorities of particular state importance. First it is necessary to determine the time schedule for the manufacture and delivery of equipment, and then use this schedule as a basis for planning contract work and commissioning of projects. This must be done immediately.

N.N. Slyunkov summed up the results of the conference.

The exchange of opinion that has taken place, he said, leads to the unambiguous conclusion: The intensification of the line of modernizing machine building as a key sector of the national economy through structural restructuring is a most serious test of our ability to demolish stereotypes and carry out a bold organizational and economic redeployment. The intended transformations in machine building sectors constitute an in-depth redeployment; they also constitute a new structural policy.

The core of this policy, the starting point for shaping the pace and proportions of reproduction, as the the 19th all-union party conference resolution on progress in the implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and the tasks for the deepening of restructuring says, must be the course aimed at the social reorientation of the economy.

The new structural policy is a paramount task for us. We have to accomplish work which will produce exceptional results in order to back up the line of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums aimed at fundamental structural restructuring of social production.

This demand applies to machine building much more than to any other sector. After all, machine building is ultimately the base for the rapid renewal of fixed capital, the implementation of scientific ideas, the achievement of a rapid and steady rate of national income growth, and the solution of major social problems.

But we all must realize that the processes of restructuring in machine building are progressing with difficulty.

Currently there is perhaps not a single sector in the national economy whose needs for Soviet-made equipment are fully satisfied by the machine building complex.

The national economy continues to receive a lot of inefficient and unreliable equipment. Expenditure on repair and maintenance is not declining and runs into billions of rubles each year. Almost 4 million workers are employed in the repair sphere. The economy suffers appreciable losses through machines lying idle because of their poor reliability.

Despite this, many leaders continue to display complacency and fail to self-critically appraise the situation. People still engage in the practice, which is useless at the time of restructuring, of halfway measures in science and technology, of substituting partial modernization for the development of new generations of equipment to ensure a revolutionary breakthrough in social production. Such attitudes must be resolutely condemned and abandoned.

It was noted that in machine building during the last 2 years fixed production capital worth almost R4 billion was not commissioned at new construction projects and enterprises undergoing modernization. Essentially, the restructuring of investment policy as conceived by the machine building modernization program is yet to occur.

The number of projects under construction at the same time is being slow to decline, and the volume of incomplete construction work is not falling but is actually growing.

The distortion which has been allowed to occur in previously set plans forces the Central Committee and the government to constantly keep an eye on the present and the future of machine building development. The question is this: It is necessary to make up as speedily as possible all that was not done during the first 2 years in the priority avenues of scientific and technical progress and to unconditionally fulfill the tasks of the second half of the 5-year plan.

Extraordinary efforts are needed for this purpose, as M.S. Gorbachev's report to the party conference noted. The ideas expressed in the report lead us to a very important strategic conclusion: The prevailing situation in machine building can be corrected only through a radical restructuring of structural and investment policy.

This is not a simple problem. This is because the factors which influence the shaping of the sector's structure are highly fluid. Mobility and flexibility are the most important qualities which our contemporary machine building needs. Its sectors must be capable of rapidly reorganizing their programs in line with the dynamically changing qualitative and quantitative demands which newly developed equipment must meet.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that a number of scientific and production collectives have still not changed their attitudes toward their work.

Having examined the situation prevailing in machine building, the CPSU Central Committee believes that the center of gravity must be switched to the considerable expansion of the scale and speed with which the production of fundamentally new types of equipment and technologies is organized.

In this context the Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building, the Gosplan, and the State Committee for Science and Technology must objectively assess the extent to which the processes of machine building's development are in line with the demands of the party's economic strategy.

The most important element of all plans is the choice of scientific and technical priorities. Of course, the acceleration of machine building is in itself a question of special national economic priority.

We are talking primarily about the galvanization of research and development and the expedited startup in the 44 priority avenues of series production of equipment for all sectors of the national economy and, of course, for the social sphere.

Key importance is attached to avenues like the application of electronics, the mechanization of hard physical labor and harmful labor, the automation of management activity, metrology and diagnostic devices, technical systems for energy- and resource-saving technologies, and the development of computer software. It is planned to develop the latest equipment for the leading complexes.

It is on the aforementioned avenues that it is planned to concentrate approximately half of the total volume of the scientific and technical output of scientific research institutes and design bureaus within the machine building complex, two-thirds of investments in the research and development base, and almost three-fourths of computerization funds allocated to machine building.

Each of the priority avenues is complex and large in terms of its content and requires original approaches. It would be no exaggeration to say that, in the process of their implementation, machine building will have to come up with something new in the organization of scientific-technical and production-economic activity. Substantial changes must be made in investment policy.

First, it must be strictly linked with the implementation of the aforementioned priority avenues.

Second, it is necessary to make the lag in the development of the research and development base good without fail. Unless this is done, the roots of scientific and technical progress will be cut off.

Third, there must be coordination of the form and content of work on the retooling and remodeling of existing production units. We are talking about retooling being done on the most advanced technical basis and using the latest technology.

And of course it is necessary to establish a more rigorous linkage between funds channeled into production development on the one hand and social development on the other.

The problem of supplying machine building with advanced materials and components is acute. Without them it is impossible to seriously expect any improvement in equipment quality. Now, in the conditions of restructuring, machine builders' mutual relations with their partners are more firmly based on interest and are therefore becoming stronger. But there are a number of fundamental questions which have not yet been finally resolved.

Emphasis was placed on the paramount importance of developing the production of specialized items of electronic equipment and the development of the machine building complex's own base for this purpose.

Thought must be given to the question of how to dismantle the obsolete organizational structures of machine building enterprises, effect the scaling down [demassifikatsiya] of production, and switch from the construction of giant enterprises with their vertically integrated structure [naturalnoye khozyaystvo] to the development of organizationally strong and highly efficient medium-sized and small enterprises.

Plants with a vertically integrated structure are outsiders when it comes to progress. Advanced practice shows that small and medium-sized enterprises can be more efficient in engaging in development activity and assimilating of scientific and technical innovations. As a rule they are less rigidly organized and are bolder in applying original and effective methods of economic management.

This, in general outline, is our policy for the development of the machine building complex. It is very important to organize work in such a way that, when drafting plans for the remaining years of the 5-year plan period, we can implement the decisions already made on structural changes in scientific and technical work, investment, and the supply of high quality materials to machine building.

The following question also arises: How are we to manage this new and more effective structural and investment policy in machine building? Will we not have to revert to command and pressure methods to a certain extent? Of course not.

The implementation of the planned work on structural transformations in the machine building complex is a very serious test for party committees, which must find their place in the implementation of the party's economic strategy in the conditions of restructuring and the execution of the most important redeployment which comprises the new structural policy.

Here we must actively and persistently pursue the CPSU's political line of accelerating the modernization of machine building through Communists working in state and economic organs and labor collectives.

Work is now being done on the draft State Plan for 1991-1995 and the concept of the USSR's economic and social development through 2005. Machine building as a whole and all its vanguard avenues will, as before, benefit from special state priorities.

The party conference convincingly demonstrated the power of the patriotic energy that has been generated in the people for active and purposeful work for the country's benefit, for the sake of socialism. Having come to believe in restructuring, Soviet people are resolutely advocating that it be deepened and that the revolutionary transformations be made irreversible.

This is why today there is such great need for practical actions in every sector of economic and social building. This is why the implementation of the decisions that have been adopted cannot be delayed, and why it is important, bearing the interests of the cause in mind, to immediately embark on their implementation.

One of the tasks which we have to implement is the acceleration of the radical modernization of machine building. This is a truly innovative task. It is our duty to be equal to it.

V.K. Gusev, L.A. Voronin, and B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and A.I. Volskiy and A.G. Melnikov, chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments, took part in the conference's work.

Agricultural

Mid-July Hay Procurement Situation Reviewed

PM1607142488 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Jul 88 p 1

[Zoo technician M. Glinka review under the rubric "Special Concern for Feed": "Haymaking: Mid-July"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] According to a report from the USSR State Committee for Statistics, by 11 June [as published] 33.6 million tonnes of hay had been procured

in the country. In many places this is considered the chief and sometimes even the only feed. "The more hay the better....", "You can't raise livestock without hay...."—which of us has not read such statements, sometimes backed up by references to mysterious "scientific data"? But what does science say, in fact? Yes, good hay is not bad feed. But, in planning and organizing its procurement, at least two circumstances must be borne in mind. First, haymaking requires quite prolonged dry, sunny weather. Second, this technique is not the most economical. And I do not just mean the extreme labor-intensiveness of hay procurement. Even given good weather and well-organized work in cutting hay, we get just 60-65 percent of dry grassy matter to the feed rack. It is no coincidence that scientists call the procurement of loose hay a most irrational technique.

There are many such methods. Thus, progressive farms in Voronezh Oblast, particularly Anninskiy Rayon's Lenin Kolkhoz, dry grass by means of active ventilation. A resultant kilogram of feed contains 0.55-0.62 of a feed unit—50 percent more than field-dried hay. Last year 9.9 million tons of such hay was procured in the country. Extensive use is made of this method in the Baltic republics, Leningrad and Kuybyshev Oblasts, and the Karelian, Mari, and Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Republics. But in Ivanovo Oblast with its wet meadows just 2 percent of procured hay was prepared with the help of active ventilation.

Hay baling is an efficient method which makes it possible to reduce not only feed losses but also labor expenditure, as well as transport costs. This technique is utilized successfully and extensively in Turkmenia, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Belorussia, Khabarovsk Kray, Murmansk, Leningrad, Kalinin, and Amur Oblasts, Kalmykia, and the Ukraine's Zhitomir and Rovno Oblasts. But there are also other examples. Last year Moscow Oblast farms baled only one-tenth of the hay procured, Kursk Oblast farms 9 percent; Kuybyshev and Omsk Oblast farms 6 percent; Saratov Oblast farms 5 percent; and Orenburg and Chelyabinsk Oblast farms just 4 percent of coarse feed. [passage omitted]

The country's farms have so far layed in store 40.8 million tonnes of haylage—roughly the same amount as by this time last year. Stocks of it are growing more quickly than last year in the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldavia, Latvia, Turkmenia, and Estonia. Kazakh and Kirghiz farms are lagging behind.

In all, 31.9 million tonnes of feed units have been laid in store on the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Per head of livestock most has been procured in Lithuania—10.56 quintals; and least in Armenia—2.6 quintals.

Scientific

International Committee on Space Research Meets

LD1807220888 Moscow TASS in English 2106 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Espoo July 18 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Semenov reports:

More than 1,200 representatives of 35 countries are taking part in the 27th plenary session of the International Committee on Space Research. The session opens at the Dipoli Hall of Congresses here today.

The delegates will make a number of reports on matters concerning the study of the planets of the solar system and their satellites, the nature of origination of comets, and the earth's magnetosphere. The depletion of the ozone layer over the planet's South Pole is one of the main subjects.

On behalf of the Finnish Government, the country's Prime Minister Harri Holkeri addressed those present in a speech of greetings. He spoke, in particular, on the development of space research in Finland, pointing out that the meeting of space scientists is taking place at a significant time. Two automatic space probes were launched in the Soviet Union in cooperation with other countries in the direction of Mars. The probes carry Finnish equipment as well.

Harri Holkeri emphasized the development of scientific dialogue between the Soviet Union and Finland in the field of space research and peaceful uses.

An exhibition of specimens of the newest space technology has been arranged in the higher technical school nearby. There are displays of national and international space organisations.

The Soviet Union put on show mockups of the interplanetary automatic stations which are on their way to Mars. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has arranged a photographic exhibition describing its activities and plans for the near future. The European Space Agency is featuring a mockup of Ariane-5 booster rocket which is to be tested in 1995.

A U.N. message was read out at the opening ceremony of the session. The message emphasizes an important contribution made recently by the International Committee on Space Research in the field of the development of international cooperation in space studies.

The committee's 27th plenary session will continue till July 29.

'Mir' Cosmonauts Continue Experiments

LD1607104188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov conducted astrophysical research using the Roentgen telescopes of the Kvant Module aboard the manned Mir complex today. Then scheduled experiments devoted to studying the earth were continued. A communications

session was also conducted today with Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, during which the scientists gave an assessment of this direction of work.

It turns out that the mass of our planet can be examined from space in different ways, for example, in the study of its greenery or vegetation. Why vegetation? Because it is very sensitive, and on the basis of its state, one can determine which chemical elements are present in the soil and what heat flows are emanating from under the surface of the earth, and how the gas composition of the atmosphere is taking shape. This is not easy to do. Special methods and instruments are required, for example, special filters for narrow ranges in the spectrum. All this taken together makes up the program for the "Uzor" experiment, whose results were discussed during the communications session with earth. [video shows shots of earth taken from inside spacecraft, cutting to shot of interior of Flight Control Center; Titov and Manarov shown inside Mir station talking to Flight Control Center]

[Begin recording] [Titov] We have already done a lot of work, and quite a lot of material has been sent down to earth since the first expedition. Of course, we are interested in the feedback, so to speak, what we have been working on, what has been obtained from it on earth. Maybe there are some comments for the crew, or something that we have not done quite right. It would be interesting to know the results that we have obtained. This is also interesting to know.

[Unidentified speaker] We have received about 150 pictures. These pictures are of good or excellent quality. You photographed Lake Balaton, which is located within a ring structure with a diameter of approximately 180 km. It is interesting that on 11 May this ring structure did not appear, but on the 12th it had started to show through. You have probably helped discover about 10 ring formations, it is calculated. Interesting information has also been obtained on the state of the water in Baku Bay. The pictures show up very great gradations in the condition of the water. I think that this photograph may be used for the purposes of environmental protection. [end recording]

The cosmonauts have worked for many years for the future development of science. But the time has come when they can carry out specific tasks from different branches directly in space, and find out the results even before they return to earth. The state nature center [gostsentrpriroda] has been set up to coordinate these tasks. And today's conversation with space is the result of just the beginning of its work.

Talks Held With NASA on Space Cooperation

LD1507193688 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—A meeting of representatives of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (USA) was held in Moscow on July 14-15. The meeting was devoted to putting into life the accords reached during the summit meeting on the development of cooperation between the USSR and the USA in peaceful exploration and uses of outer space.

The participants in the meeting agreed to have an exchange of the results of explorations on perspective projects of both countries in the sphere of exploration of the solar system. It is implied that proposals for cooperation in carrying out some of these projects could be drawn up as a result of these activities. Also discussed were questions of installing on a mutual basis scientific instruments on each other's space vehicles. The discussion of these questions will continue within the framework of the existing mixed working groups of specialists.

Space Cooperation Discussed With Austria

LD1807195388 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Vienna July 18 TASS—Austrian-Soviet talks began here today. Their purpose is to elucidate a number of matters connected with the participation of an Austrian citizen in one of the flights of a Soviet spaceship to the orbital station Mir.

After a proposal to this effect had been made by the Soviet side, in April this year the Federal Government of the Austrian Republic had taken a decision on Austria's participation in such a flight.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Science has said the Austrian side has already begun preparations for a number of technical experiments during the contemplated joint flight.

The talks will continue for several days.

Western Insurance for Space Launches Noted

PM1807142988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At USSR Main Administration for Creation and Utilization of Space Technology"]

[Text] A TASS correspondent was informed at the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology that the representatives of the largest insurance companies in Britain, Italy, the United States, and the FRG who are visiting our country left for Baykonur 12 July.

During their 2-day visit to the cosmodrome, the guests will be able to observe the launch of the "Phobos-2" interplanetary station which will be launched into orbit on a "Proton" launch vehicle. They will also study the organization of payload launches using this rocket. The purpose of the businessmen's visit is to help create more

favorable conditions for the involvement of the companies they represent in the underwriting of possible commercial launches which is now being done by the USSR Joint Stock Insurance Company (Ingosstrakh).

Military

Collegium on Afghan Veterans' 'Interests'

Benefits Violations Debated

LD1507053088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] A meeting of the collegium took place today under the chairmanship of Sukharev, the USSR procurator general, to discuss questions of ensuring the rights and legitimate interests of internationalist servicemen and the execution of the recent decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers concerning military servicemen who have fulfilled their international duty in Afghanistan. Taking part in the meeting were senior officials of the USSR Defense Ministry, the RSFSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal services, and the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans.

The debate concerned facts of heartlessness and serious violations of legislation covering benefits for internationalist servicemen and also red tape and parochial distortions exposed in a number of regions of the country during checks on the fulfillment of this legislation conducted by the USSR procuracy with the participation of military procurators.

The executive committees of many local soviets of people's deputies have shown weakness in monitoring the fulfillment of this legislation. Questions of granting benefits are frequently being tackled only on statements by servicemen or on applications from military registration and enlistment offices. The military registration and enlistment offices are conducting work in a weak manner to acquaint Afghan servicemen with the legislation on benefits.

Ignorance of the legislation has quite frequently caused officials not to be satisfied with the servicemen's well-grounded applications. They have been unlawfully refused places on lists for the allocation of housing or improvements in housing conditions. This sort of thing happened, for example, in the executive committees of the Dushanbe, Kurgan-Tyube, and Fayzabad Soviets of People's Deputies of the Tajik SSR and certain areas of Leningrad [as heard, presumably means Leninabad] and Ashkhabad. Instances of unfounded refusal to grant benefits to the families of servicemen who died in Afghanistan have also been noted.

Based on the materials of the procuracy, measures have been taken to eliminate the infringements. A number of officials have had disciplinary proceedings taken against them and a number have been issued with warnings. Certain individual officials have had criminal proceedings instituted against them for instances of a bureaucratic and criminally negligent attitude toward the execution of their service duties.

Procurator General Interviewed

LD1507224588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A session of the collegium of the USSR procuracy, at which questions of ensuring the rights and legitmate interests of internationalist servicemen and the execution of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on servicemen who have fulfilled their international duty in Afghanistan, took place today. Here is what Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev, the USSR procuratore general, said in an interview with Anatoliy Fedorov, our correspondent:

[Begin recording] [Fedorov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, 5 and ½ years have passed since the well-known decree was adopted. It was a great, humane act by the government for people who have passed through the furnace of combat operations and a matter of great political and international resonance. So, how do you assess progress in the implementation of that decree?

[Sukharev] If we are going to talk on a large scale, when we begin to apply the demands of our legislation, so to speak, to the actual person, to the actual serviceman who has passed through the furnace of those trials, sometimes disappointment sets in. That is to say, as for what these people, their families, and even their comrades are authorized by law, there are failures, as we say, in letting them get what they are authorised by law to have, you realize. A particularly acute situation has developed in this country with regard to privileges for housing. Some executive committees have engaged in ad-libbing, establishing a special system, you understand, registration arrangements, in other words, which actually differ in no way from the general order; and in some places they have established a system for after 3 or 4 years' residence in the given locality. [passage omitted]

Very many shocking things have been ascertained with regard to medical services and the payment of pensions to them and to the families of those who perished.

[Fedorov] Is it time for you to apply the law against those bureaucrats who, by means fair or foul, are throwing a wrench in the works and degrading people who have gone through the war, we shall call it—has the time come?

[Sukharev] Without a doubt. We have given instructions to initiate criminal proceedings against individual bureaucrats and officials who have dealt heartlessly with the needs of servicemen, and to conduct special investigations. Of course we have sent very strict representations to ministries and departments, demanding that

they give a report on how they are going to correct these shortcomings which have been uncovered, in order for our laws to be effective in practice.

[Fedorov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, how do you evaluate the fact that the relevant documents of the legislation adopted in 1983 and 1984, on the privileges of internationalist servicemen, and the order of Dmitriy Fedorovich Ustinov, the then minister of defense, are stamped Top Secret? This means, in practice, that of the executive bodies which are supposed to know and implement these documents, many do not know them fully, and the servicemen themselves do not know them.

[Sukharev] I see no grounds for keeping that stamp in force. It must be said that this is also an indicator of the period of stagnation, and an end must be put to it as soon as possible. Everybody must know our laws, especially when we are dealing with such humane laws as those on privileges for internationalists, for participants in combat operations, for our defenders. [end recording]

Akhromeyev Returns Home From U.S., Cuba Visits

PM1907132388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, returned to Moscow 17 July. He had been paying an official visit to the United States at the invitation of Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff, and an official, friendly visit to Cuba at the invitation of Army General Raul Castro Ruz, Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces minister.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev was greeted at Sheremetyevo Airport by Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister, and Colonel General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

The welcoming party included J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, and R. Mirabel, envoy counsellor at the Cuban embassy in the USSR.

Missiles Efficiently Eliminated in Saryozek

PM1507145788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel A. Ladin, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "In Line With the Treaty"]

[Text] Work in preparation for eliminating shorter-range missiles is continuing in the Saryozek region (Taldykurgan Oblast) in line with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. The specially trained subunits taking the missiles from the unloading area to the destruction location are working here with precision and efficiency.

Major General L. Bugrov, deputy chief of staff of the Central Asian Military District, who is in charge of the operation, noted that the measures necessary to ensure the steady elimination of the missiles not only in the dry summer period but also in wet autumn weather and winter have been thought through and implemented. Field roads have been put in order. Special concrete areas are being laid to facilitate the siting of cranes and means of transport during unloading.

The actual missile operations base in the Saryozek region has also been transformed in recent months. New hostels and hotels have been built here, two stores and cafes have been commissioned, and additional water sources have been provided. In short, the necessary conditions have been created for U.S. inspectors and also for the personnel engaged in operations to eliminate the missiles.

Yazov, Others Sign V.I. Volkov's Obituary

PM1407153588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of V.I. Volkov]

[Excerpts] Colonel General of Aviation Professor Vladimir Ivanovich Volkov, retired, veteran of the civil war and the Great Patriotic War, has died. He devoted his entire conscious life to selflessly serving the socialist motherland, the Soviet people, and the cause of the Communist Party, whose ranks he joined in 1942.

V.I. Volkov was born into a family of white-collar workers on 28 November 1900. [Passage omitted]

From 1947 through 1969 he was chief of the Professor N.Ye. Zhukovskiy Military Air Engineering Academy. [Passage omitted]

[signed] D.T. Yazov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.F. Shestopalov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, L.L. Batekhin, B.F. Korolkov, V.Ye. Pankin, N.G. Shishkov, B.M. Shishkin, A.S. Goryainov, V.Ya. Kremlev, A.V. Borisov, V.I. Bogdanov, V.M. Sidorin, P.P. Safronov, N.M. Fedyayev, V.A. Tyukhtyayev.